

56  
THE  
L I F E  
AND  
D E A T H  
O F

*Sir Thomas Moore, Knt.*  
*Lord HIGH-CHANCELLOR*

O F

*ENGLAND.* *K Rooper (W.)*

*In the Reign of K. Henry the VIIIth.*

Written by *WILLIAM ROOPER, Esq;*  
*Prothonotary of the King's Bench.*

To which are added from *Sir Thomas's English Works* some Letters of His, &c. referred to in the Account of his Life.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for *Thomas Page* and *William Mount* on *Tower hill*; *John Osborn* and *Thomas Longman* in *Fater-noster-Row*, 1729.



W. Musgrave.





# THE PREFACE.



**S**IR *Thomas More* being a Person  
so very remarkable for his strict  
Vertue, excellent Learning, great  
skill in our municipal Laws, his  
Honours and Promotions, and  
lastly for the cause for which he  
suffer'd a violent death, \* many  
have taken in hand to write His History. Of  
these, that which I now publish as it seems to  
A 2 have

\* *Sir Thomas More's Life* written by Mr. Justice *Reshall*  
*Sir Thomas's Sister Elizabeth's Son*, MS.

The Life of *Sir Thomas More*, Knt. Lord High Chan-  
cellour of *England* under King *Henry* the Eighth, and  
His Majesties Embassadour to the Courts of *France*  
and *Germany*, 4to, 1627.

De tribus *Thomis* auctore *Thoma Stapletono* Col. Agrip.  
1612. 8vo.

*Historia aliquot nostri seculi Martyrum, viz Thomæ Mori,*  
*Joan. Fischeri, &c.* 4to, 1550.

The mirrour of Virtue in worldly greatness, 8vo, *Paris*,  
1616.

The History of the Life and Death of *Sir Thomas More*,  
Lord High Chancellour of *England* in K. *Henry* the  
Eight's time. Collected by *J H. Gent.* 8vo. *London*  
1662.

have been the first written, so all the rest are more or less transcripts of or copies from it. And indeed none of the many other writers of *Sir Thomas's Life*, can any way pretend to the same advantages and opportunitys of knowing him which the Author of this little History had, who not only married his beloved daughter, with whom *Sir Thomas* entrusted his secrets, but who lived \* sixteen years in the same house with *Sir Thomas*, and was his attendant and companion almost wherever he went. Accordingly he gives this reason himself for his committing to writing these *Memoirs of Sir Thomas's Life, &c.* that he knew *his dooings and minde noe man livinge so well.*

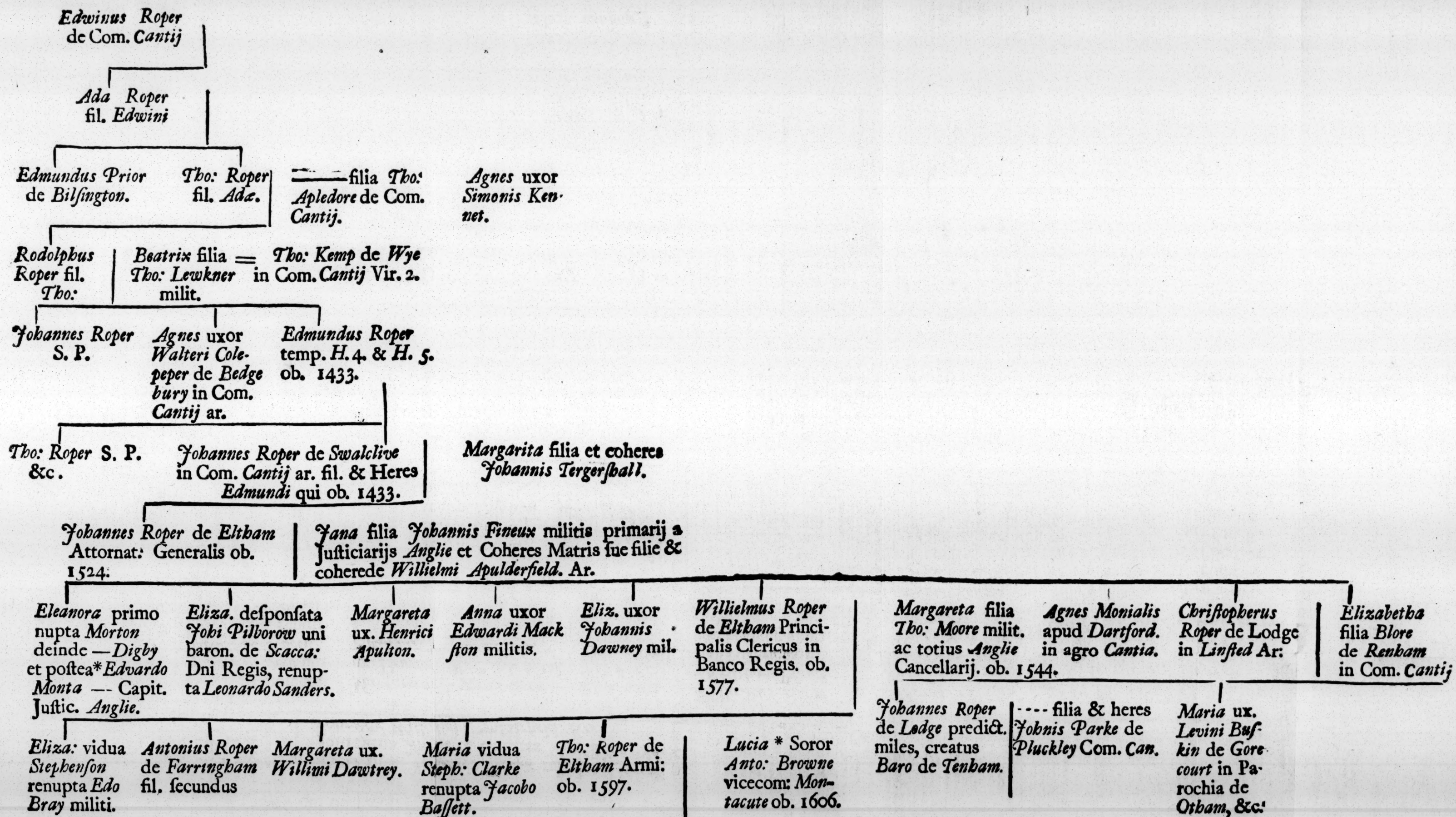
1528.

This Gentleman was *William Roper* the son and heir of *John Roper, Esq;* prothonotary of the King's Bench, and of an ancient and worshipful Family at *St. Dunstan's* in the suburbs of the City of *Canterbury*. He married *Margaret* the eldest daughter of *Sir Thomas More* then Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*. This Lady had all the advantages that could arise from great natural parts and very fine learning: She was a perfect Mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of all sorts of Music, besides her skill in Aritmetick and other Sciences. For thus we are assured by a very learned friend of *Sir Thomas*, that he took a great deal of care to have his children instructed in the liberal disciplines or sciences; so that the fine things said of her and to her by the greatest men of that age and since, were more than complements or words of course, they were what she had a right to and very well deserved.

With

\* By this it seems as if *Mr. Roper* lived in *Sir Thomas's* Family sometime before he married his daughter.





\* Edw. Mountague  
Miles coustit: Capitalis  
Justic. Banci Regis Nov.  
6. 37. Hen. viii.

Willielmus Roper  
de Eltham miles

Edw. Roper arm.

\* filia Anthonij Browne ex illustri  
Montacutiensi familia, Equitis  
equorumq; Regi Henrico octavo  
Præfecti, cui etiam a concilijs fuit.

Place this [Preface] facing p. 4.



Robert Roper  
in Com. Camp

Robert Roper  
in Com. Camp

Robert Roper  
in Com. Camp  
1711

Robert Roper  
in Com. Camp  
1711

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in Com. Camp  
1711

## The Preface.

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With this excellent Woman Mr. *Roper* lived about 16 years, she dying 1544. nine years after her Father, when she was buried in the Family burying place at *St. Dunstons*, with her Father's head in her arms, as she had desired. By her Mr. *Roper* had two sons and three daughters: Of whose education the Mother took the same care that had been taken of her own. The famous *Roger Ascham*, then fellow of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Latin Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, tells us, \* That she was very desirous of having *him* for their Tutor to instruct them in the learned languages, but that he would not then upon any terms be prevailed with to leave the University; that therefore she procured Dr. *Cole* and Dr. *Christopherson* afterwards Bp. of *Chichester*, both very famous at that time for their skill in the Greek tongue. *Ascham* styles this Mrs. *Clarke* one of Mrs. *Ropers* daughters, an eminent ornament of her sex and of Queen *Mary's* Court. Another daughter of Mrs. *Roper*, whose name was Mrs. *Mary Bassett*, was one of the gentlewomen, so they were then called, of Queen *Mary's* privy chamber, and translated into English part of her grandfather's exposition of the passion of our Saviour, which he wrote in *Latin*; and is said so well to have imitated Sir *Thomas's* style that any one would think it was written by him in *English*.

After her decease Mr. *Roper* lived a widow 33 years, even to the time of his death *January*

A 3

4th.

\* Is — ego sum quem ante aliquot annos mater tua *Margareta Ropera*, femina et illo tanto patre et te tali filia dignissima, ex *Academia Cantabrigiensi* accersivit ad se ad ædes domini † *Ægidij Alingtoni* necessarij vestri, rogavitque ut te reliquosque suos liberos, Græca. Latinaque lingua instituerem: sed tum ego nullis conditionibus ab *Academia* divelli me putiebar.

† Sir Gyles  
*Alington*  
who mar.  
Sir T. More's  
2d Lady's  
daughter.



4th. 1577. being then 82 years old, and left the following good character, viz. 'That he was very generous at home and abroad, mild and merciful, and the staff or support of those who were either prisoners, or under oppression or in poverty.' He was buried in the same grave with his dear and beloved wife. The very diligent and exact Mr. *Somner* has preserved the following Inscription or Epitaph made for him, which was, it seems, with other Funeral Inscriptions for persons of that ancient Family to be seen in his time in the Chancel or Chapel of the *Ropers* on the south side of the high Chancel of St. *Dunstan's* Church, but are all now so totally defaced that not the least remains are left: Nay one cannot so much as guess \* whereabouts they were placed,

**Hic jacet venerabilis Vir Gulielmus Roper armiger, filius et heres quondam Johannis Roperi armigeri, et Margareta uxor ejusdem Gulielmi, filia quondam Thomæ Mori militis summi olim Angliæ Cancellarij, Gregris, Latinisque literis doctissime, qui quidem Gulielmus patri suo in officio prothonotariatus supære Curie Banci Regij successit, in quo cum annis 54 fideliter ministrasset et idem Officium filio suo primogenito Thomæ reliquit. Fuit is Gulielmus domitorisque munificens, mitis, misericors, incarceratorum, oppressorum, et pauperum baculus. Genuit ex Margareta uxore (quam unicam habuit) filios duos et**

**filias**

\* Perhaps they were on brass fastened to their several Tomb stones which might be broken and defaced when they were taken up to make the Vault. For the Inscription of *Edmund Roper*, who died 1433. which was to be seen there in brass under his Effigies, 1717. is now quite gone with a part of the Stone, and of the brass Effigies. So little regard do too many of the present Age pay to the memory of either their own ancestors or of the ancestors of others.

filias tres, et ips vidit in vita sua nepotes  
et pronepotes, uxorem in virili aetate ami-  
sit, viduatus uxoze castissime vixit annis  
33. Tandem, completis in pace diebus, de-  
cessit in senectute bona ab omnibus deside-  
ratus die quarto mensis Jan. Anno Christi  
salvatoris 1577. aetatis vero sue 82.

Mr. Roper seems to have been very well quali-  
fied for a writer of Sir *Thomas's* Life, but his  
affection for him has had some influence on his  
pen, so as instead of a History, he has wrote a  
panegyric. As great and as good a Man as Sir  
*Thomas* was, it's certain he was not altogether  
without his foibles. The principal of these seems  
to me to have been too great an affectation of  
singularity. Somewhat of this appeared in his  
very dress; He used, we are told, to wear his  
gown awry upon one shoulder, and so to appear  
as if one shoulder was \* higher than the other. *Ascham's*  
Archbp. *Cranmer* seems to have been of this School-  
mind that Sir *Thomas* was somewhat too conceited master.  
and desirous of esteem, and therefore wherein he  
had once said his mind, would not vary therfrom  
that he might not for ever distain or blemish his  
Fame and Estimation.

*Erasmus*, tho' a very great admirer of Sir *Tho-*  
*mas*, and one who loved him so well as to seem  
to himself to have † died with him, yet observes  
of him that His aspect was somewhat ludicrous  
and tending to the smile, and more apposite to  
pleasantry and \* \* jesting than either to gravity or  
A 4 dignity.

\* Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim  
cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura sed assuetudine,  
*Erasmi* Epist.

† In *Moro* mihi videor extinctus.

\* A manne well learned in the tongues and also in the  
Common Lawe, whose wytte was fyne and full of imagi-  
nacyons by reason wherof he was too much given to mock-  
ing whiche was to his gravitie a great blemish. *Hall* Chro.

dignity. This he imputes to Sir *Thomas's* being from a child, so delighted with jesting that he seem'd to be even born for it. But then he adds that he never degenerated into scurility, and that he did not love an ill-natured Jest, that put another to pain. Sir *Thomas* himself observes that it was reckoned a blemish in his Writings against the protestants, that he mix'd with the most serious matters fancies and sports and merry tales. But in this he thought himself justified by the authority of the Roman Poet *Horace* who, Sir *Thomas* observes, sayeth *A man maye sometime saye ful soth in a game* ——— *ridentem dicere verum quis vetat?*

\* *Eraſmus* The same \* great man tells us that Sir *Thomas* seem'd to be rather \* Superstitious than Irreligious: 'Tho' else where he observes of him that he was the farthest possible from all Superstition. But how far from being exact this latter Judgment of him is, let the following History of His Life be an evidence.

It was likewise laid to the charge of Sir *Thomas*, as he tells us himself, that he 'handled *Luther, Tindal, &c.* with no sayrer wordes, 'nor in no more courteous manner and treated 'their persons when he had them in his power 'with too much rigor and severity.' Thus is it particularly remarked of his *Latin* answer to *Bp. Atterbury's* *Con-* *Luther*, That in it he has forgotten himself so far that he has there 'thrown out the greatest fiderations, 'heap of nasty language that perhaps ever was 'put together, and that the book throughout is 'nothing but downright ribaldry without a grain of

\* ——— Sic addictus *Pietati* ut si in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, *Superstitioni* quam impietati vicinior esse videatur.

Veræ *Pietatis* non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni *Superstitione* alienissimus.



‘ of reason to support it, and gave the author  
 ‘ no other reputation but that of having the best  
 ‘ knack of any man in *Europe* at calling bad names,  
 ‘ in good Latin; tho’ his passion is sometimes so  
 ‘ strong upon him that he sacrifices even his be-  
 ‘ loved purity to it.’ The like censure do his \*  
 English Tracts against *Tindal*, *Barns*, &c. de-  
 serve. He by way of sneer calls the protestants,  
 the brethren, forgetting that this was the name  
 the first Christians were commonly called by.  
 But for this Sir *Thomas* makes the following Apo-  
 logy, — ‘ Where they fynde the faute that I  
 ‘ handle these folke so foule, how coude I other  
 ‘ doe? For whyle I declare and shewe theyre  
 ‘ writynge to be suche (as I nedes muste or leave  
 ‘ the most necessarie pointes of all the matter  
 ‘ untouched) it were verye harde for me to handle  
 ‘ it in suche wise as when I plainlye prove them  
 ‘ abhominable heretiques and against GOD and  
 ‘ his Sacraments and Saints very blasphemousfools  
 ‘ thei should wene that I speake them faire. I am  
 ‘ a simple plain body — For thoughe *Tindall*  
 ‘ and *Frith* in their writings call me a poet, it is  
 ‘ but of their owne courtesy, undeserved on my  
 ‘ part. For I canne neither so mucche poetry nor so  
 ‘ much Rethorique neither as to fynde good names  
 ‘ for evyll thinges, but even as the *Macedonians*  
 ‘ coude not call a traytour but a traytour, so canne  
 ‘ I not call a foole but a foole, nor an heretique  
 ‘ but

*English*  
*Works.* p.  
 864. col. 1

\* *Mayster Martin Luther* himself beyng specially borne  
 agayne and new created of the Spirit whom GOD in many  
 places of holy Scripture hath commanded to keep his Vowe  
 made of Chastity — so farre contrary therunto toke out of  
 religion a Spouse of Christ wedded her himselve in reproche  
 of wedlocke. called her his wife and made her his harlot,  
 and in double despite of marriage and religion both, liveth  
 with her openlie, and lyeth with her nightlye in shameful  
 incest and abominable bycherie. *English Works*, p. 360.  
 cel. 1.

p. 865. ' but an heretique. — But now these good  
col. 1. ' brethren, that fynde the faute wyth me that I  
' speake no fairer unto these holyc prophetes of  
' theirs, be so egall and indifferent that in *them*  
' they finde no faute at all for their abhominable  
' raylinge against so manye other honest, honour-  
' able, good & vertuous folke, nor for condemp-  
' ninge for dampned heretikes the whole catho-  
' lique church of all Christen people, excepte he-  
' retikes, both spirituall and temporall, seculare  
' and religious to. But then the good brethrene  
' excuse theim and saye, that they write against  
' none but onelye them that are nought, and  
' write but against their Vices.'

Of this Apology the indifferent reader must judge how far it will serve to excuse Sir *Thomas's* manner of writing against those he calls Hereticks and the low, unmanly reflections which he constantly makes on their persons. Tho' it must be own'd, in this they \* were pretty even with him in the answers which they made to him, and treated *him* with as little ceremony as he had used towards *them*.

But besides the reflections made on their persons, its but too plain that Sir *Thomas* is not always so careful, as one would expect a person of his learning and of so tender and scrupulous a conscience would be, in reporting matters of fact wherein they whom he called Hereticks were concerned. For instance, *Tyndall* had written  
' that

\* The Subversion of *More's* false Foundation whereupon he sweteth to set faste and shove under his shameles shoris to underproppe the Popis Church: Made by *George Joye*.

*More* is become a vayne lyer in his owne reasoning and arguments: and his folysh harte is blynded. Where he believed to have done moste wysely, there hath he shewed himself a starke foole. *Moros* in Greke is stultus in Latyn, a foole in Englyshe. *Emdon* 1534.

‘ that the Cardinall was compelled even with his  
 ‘ awne good will to resygne his chauncelare-  
 ‘ shippe, and that to whome he lysted himselfe :  
 ‘ that he thought to undo his destenye with his  
 ‘ policyes and went and put downe himselfe un-  
 ‘ der a colour and sett up in his rounge —  
 ‘ the chefest of all his secretaries — *More.* — And  
 ‘ as for the bishopryche of *Durham* he coude not  
 ‘ of good congruyte but rewarde his old chap-  
 ‘ pelayne, and one of the chefe of all his secre-  
 ‘ taries with all — *Tunstalle.*’

These stories seem indeed to be perfect tattle  
 and Romance, but thus Sir *Thomas* misrepresents English  
 them. — ‘ *The practise of prelates*; wherein *Tin-* Works p.  
 ‘ *dall* had † went to have made speciall shewe of 342, col. 1  
 ‘ his highe worldly witte, and that men shulde  
 ‘ have sene therein that ther wer nothing done  
 ‘ among princes but that he was fully advertised  
 ‘ of all the secretes, and that so farre furthe that  
 ‘ he knewe the privie practise made betweene  
 ‘ the King’s Highnesse and the late lord Cardinall  
 ‘ and the reverend father *Cuthbert* then Bishop of  
 ‘ *London*, and me, that it was devised wilily that  
 ‘ the Cardinall should leave the Chauncellorship  
 ‘ to me, and the bishopricke of *Durham* to my  
 ‘ said Lord of *London* for a while, till he list him-  
 ‘ self to take them both againe.’

So in another place Sir *Thomas* tells a story of p. 901,  
 a childe who was a servant in his house, and had col. 1.  
 by his father been set to attend upon George \* *Jaye* \* *Jye.*  
 or *Gee* otherwise called *Clarke*, that this George  
 \* *Jaye* taught this childe his ungracious herefie  
 against the blessed sacrament of the Aulter: and  
 that into his house at *Antwerpe* the two nunnes  
 were broughte which *Jhon Byrt*, otherwise cal-  
 led *Adrian*, stale out of their Cloyster. But to  
 these stories *Joye*, so he wrote his name, in his  
 answer.

† thought.



1534. answer to Sir *Thomas* published by him next year, makes the following reply which I shall set downe in his owne words.

*The Sub-  
version of  
More's  
false foun-  
dacion, &c* ' The Nonnes sayd playnely, and yet affirme  
' it, that they came forthe lest they shulde have  
' bene made harletts in the cloister by a vyciouse  
' prieste called Syr *Johan Larke* their stwarde,  
' whiche by theyr saynge was not mete to be  
' chaplayne unto nonnis, nor nonnes to have  
' siche a stwerd: and therefore came they their  
' waye. It is a perrellous poynt for nonnes cha-  
' stite to be reclused in siche a cloister where  
' priestes be to familiare and bere all the rule be-  
' inge at meall tyde, bedde and borde within  
' the place. Nether came these Nonnis then  
' unto my howse in *Antwerpe* I take GOD to  
' recorde. And as for Dicke *Purser*, who attend-  
' ed upon me at *London* 8 or 9 daies, verly the  
' chylde lay with me that lytell whyle and fetched  
' me meat, whom I taught to say by herte his  
' *pater Noster*, *Ave*, and *Credo* yn Englyshe, wyth  
' the two prayers folowyng in the *Ortulus a-*  
' *nime*, to saye them in the morninge and even-  
' ynge, and thys, yn good faith, was all the He-  
' relie that I taught him. I had ben an undif-  
' creit Maister so sodenly in so lytell space to  
' have taken forthe the chylde oute of his *pater*  
' *noster* unto the sacrament of the Auter, seyng  
' the chylde was not yet of so ful age as to come  
' unto GODDIS borde. But this lowde lye his  
' Maister *More* souked owt of the boyes botickis  
' to fede his ungracious affectis when he whip-  
\* tied. ' ped him naked \* tayd unto the Tree of his  
' trowthe.'

Sir *Thomas*'s zeal against supposed Heresie was reported to have carried him too far in his re-  
sentments against the persons of those who fa-  
voured it. His *Confutation of Tindal's answer to*  
his

*his Dialogues*, is a proof of this; since there he tells a parcel of stories of *Sir Thomas Hilton*, *Richard Bayfelde*, *George Constantine*, *Thomas Blynney*, and ——— *Tewksberry*, most of them burnt, as serve to very little other purpose than representing those men as the weakest fools as well as the most vicious and hardned knaves.

All parties, it has been observed, have got a scurvy trick of Lying for the Truth. But it is not at all to be wonderd that *they* make no scruple of telling a Lie, who think that even by *killing* their fellow creatures they do GOD service. This was another thing that was laid to *Sir Thomas's* charge. He tells us himselfe that it was said of him that whilst he was Chancellour he used to examine the protestants with torments, causing them to be bounden to a tree in his garden and there petiously beaten. But *Sir Thomas* English solemnly declared, of very great trouthe that Works, p. 901. col. 1  
 'albeit for a great robbery, or an heighnous murder or sacrilege in a Church wyth carieng awaye the pixe with the blessed Sacramente or villinously casting it out, he caused sometyme suche thinges to be done by some Officers of the Marshallsye, or of some other prisons— He never did els cause any suche thinge to be done to any of all the blessed brethren in all his Life, except only the child before mentioned and another who was mad and disturbed good people in the Divine service. — That of all that ever came in his hand for heresy, as helpe him GOD, saving the sure keeping of them, els had never any of them any strype or stroake given them so muche as a fylppe on the forehead.'

His friend *Erasmus* said of him, that he hated the seditious tenets with which the world was then miserably disturbed: that this he no way dissembled,

dissembled, nor desired should be a secret. Yet this was a sufficient argument of a certain excellent clemency, that whilst he was Chancellor no one was put to death for his disapproved opinions. In a letter of his to *Erasmus* Sir Thomas very freely owns, That he so far hated that sort of men called Hereticks, that unless they repented he would be as troublesome to them as he could: and that this he had declared in his Epitaph out of ambition. To the same purpose he expresses himself concerning them else-where.

English Works, p. 925. col. 2. ‘As touching heretickes, I hate that vice of theirs and not their persons, and very faine would I that the tone were destroyed, and the tother saved.’ But then he adds; ‘Whoso be deeply grounded in malice to the harme of his owne soule and other mens to, and so set upon the sowing of sediciouse heresies that no good meanes that men may use unto him can pull that maliciouse folly oute of his poysoned, proude, obstinate heart, I would rather be content that he were gone in time then over long to tarry to the destruccion of other.’

The truth is there were so many persons of corrupt minds and ill principles who abused the Reformation to serve their own vile purposes, that it is not to be at all wondred at that Sir Thomas as well as others entertained very strong prejudices against it. In *Germany* all was in an uproar; the boors and common people seem’d to act as if all was their own, and that they were now at liberty to plunder whom they pleased. *Erasmus*, who was on the spot, thus represents their behaviour. ‘Who knows not, *sais he*, how many light and seditious people are ready on this pretence of Reformation, for a loose to all sorts of crimes if the severity of the Magistrates does not restrain their glowing rashness.



ness. — Which if they had not done, the Pseudo-Gospellers had long since broke into the cellars and cabinets of the rich, and every one would have been a Papist, who had any thing to lose.' But then Sir *Thomas* seems tove carried his fears too far, in representing all, without exception, who favoured the Reformation as thus seditious, nay even the principles of the Reformers as factious and rebellious. But to such a hatred of *Luther*, *Tindall*, &c. had this great man wrought himself, that he reckon'd the followers of *Luther* a great part of those ungracious people which late entred into \* *Rome* with the duke of *Burbon*, and layd the whole blame of the barbarities then committed on *them*, representing them as beasts more hot, and more busy then would the great Turk, and from howre to howre embruying their hands in blood, and that in such wise as any Turke or Saracene would have pitied or abhorred. He adds, that the unhappy deeds of that secte must needs be imputed to the secte it self, while the doctrine therof teacheth and giveth occasion to their evil deedes.

1525.  
Dialoges.

In the same manner had Sir *Thomas* wrought himself up in the point of the Popes primacy. This he tells Mr. Secretary *Cromwel* he was, by reading the King's book against *Luther*, brought to believe was begun by the institution of GOD. And yet in his Answer to *Tindall* he says he never did put the Pope for part of the definition of the Church, defining the Church to be *the common known congregation of all christen nations under one Head the Pope*. Thus, says he, did I never

English  
Works. p.  
614. col. 1

\* This sacking of *Rome* was but 9 years after *Luther* first began to oppose the Pope; So that it is very improbable that any of his followers should be a great part or any part at all of the Army that then did so great cruelties. No, these beasts were all professed Catholics.

never define the Church, but purposely declined therfrom. For which he gives the following reason. Because he would not intricate and entangle the matter with 2 Questions at once. For he wist very well that the Church being proved this common known catholike congregation of all christen nations abiding together in one Faith, neither fawn off nor cut off, there might be peradventure made a *second* Question after that, Whether over all that Catholike Church the Pope must needs be Head and Chief Governour or Chiefe spirituall Shepherd? Or else that, the union of faith standing among them all, every province might have their own Chief Spiritual Governour over it self; without any recourse unto the Pope, or any superioritie recognised to any other outward person. But now these could be no Questions, if the Pope's primacy, or his being Head, and Chief Governor or Chief Spiritual Shepherd of the Catholike Church was provided by GOD, or begun by His Institution.

However, we here see the ground of this excellent person's opposition to the King's primacy or supremacy. By *Head* or *Chief Governour* he understood the being *Chief spirituall Shepherd*, as if the King was enacted to have power to administer the Sacraments, particularly to ordain Bishops and Priests, &c. And therefore he scrupled owning the King to be supreme Head of the Church of *England*, as not thinking him qualified to be the *Chief spirituall shepherd* because he was a Lay-man. Thus has the Regal supremacy been since mis-represented, in spite of all that has been said or done by that prince, his parliaments, and his Clergy to the contrary, who all declared that by *Supreme Head* they did not mean a *Spiritual*, but a *Civil* Head or Pastor

as K. Saul is stiled *Head* of the Tribes of *Israel*, and his Successor King *David* is said to feed <sup>Psal. 78</sup> *Jacob* and *Israel*.

The late *Jeremy Collier* (whom I never think of but with concern for his prostituting such excellent parts and fine learning to serve a party, even to the descending to assert the most shameful falsehoods and to indulge the grossest partialities, as he has done in his *Ecclesiastical History*) has been pleased to translate into English a long passage from Mr. *Calvin's* Comment on the Prophet *Amos*, on purpose to expose the Regal Supremacy. But this he could not but know *Belarmine* and others of the same stamp had done before him, and for the very same end. To them our learned prelates *Andrews* and *Bilson* returned proper answers long before Mr. *Collier* was born. Which answers, I believe, every sincere lover of truth will think ought to have been remembred in his History, so long as it was thought proper to place the Objection there.

The Jesuits having published a pamphlet entitled *An Apologie and true declaration of the Institution and indeavours of the two English Colleges, viz. of Doway and Rheims*, in which they most of all spurn'd at the Royal Supremacy; among other things which they alledged against it was the authority of *Calvin* the learned French Reformer at *Geneva*, who in his comment on the seventh chapter of the prophecy of *Amos* says, *They were blasphemers who called K. Henry VIII. supreme head of the Church under Christ*. To this Bp. *Bilson* replied that ' these indeed are his words:

' but that what goeth before and followeth after  
' shews in what sense *Calvin* took the word  
' *Supreme*. At this day, ' saith *Calvin*, where po-  
' perie continueth how many are there who load  
' the King with all the right and power they

The true  
difference  
betweene  
Christian  
Subjection  
& unchristian rebel-  
lion. Part  
III. p. 294.  
can, 295.



' can, \* *that there should be no disputing of religion, but this authoritie should rest in the King alone, to appoint at his pleasure what he list, and that to stand without contradiction.* They that first so highly advanced King Henry of England were inconsiderate, they gave him supreme power of all things, and that was it which always wounded me.' Then, says the Bp. to the Jesuits, succede your words and withall a particular exemplification howe Steven Gardiner alleaged and confuted the King's stile in *Germanie*. ' That jugler who after was Chancellor, I mean the Bishop of *Winchester* when he was at *Rentz-burge* neither would stand to reason the matter, nor greatly cared for any testimonies of the Scriptures, but said it was at the King's discretion to abrogate that which was in use, and appoint new: that the King might forbid Priests marriage, might bar the people from the Cup in the LORD'S SUPPER, might determine this or that in his Kingdome. And why? Forsooth the King had supreme power. This sacrilege hath taken hold on us, in *Germanie* whiles princes thinke they cannot reigne, excepte they abolish all the authority of the Church, and be themselves supreme Judges as well in *Doctrine*, as in *all spiritual regiment*.'

' This, says the Bp. was the sense which Calvin affirmed to be *sacrilegious* and *blasphemous* for princes to profess themselves *supreme Judges of Doctrine and Discipline*, and indeed it is the blasphemie which all godlie hearts reject and abomine in the bishop of Rome. Neither did  
 ' King

\* Mr. Collier in his translation of this comment of Calvin's omits these important words. This is one of his artifices to seduce the unwary reader to his Party: and is therefore often made use of by him, particularly in his abridgement of K. Henry's book against Luther. *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 12. 289.

King *Henry* take any such thing on him for ought that we can learn; but this was *Gardiner's* stratagem to convey the reproach and shame of the *Sixe* Articles from himselfe and his felowes that were the authors of them, and to cast it on the King's supreme power. Had *Calvin* been told that supreme was first received to declare the prince to be superior to the \* prelates, who exempted themselves from the King's authoritie by their Church liberties and immunities, as well as to the lay-men of this Realme, and not to be subject to the Pope, who claimed a jurisdiction over all Princes and Countries, the word would never have offended him: but as this wily *Foxe* framed his answer when the *Germanes* communed with him about the matter, we blame not *Calvin* for mistaking, but the Bishop of *Winchester*, for perverting the King's stile, and wresting it to that sence which all good men abhor.

The Bp. further observes that 'Our princes by their stile of supreme Heads of the Church, do not challenge power to debate, decide, or determine any point of faith or matter of religion, much lesse to be supreme Judges or Governors of all doctrine and discipline: But if in their Realm we will have the assistance of the Magistrates sworde to settle the Truth and prohibite error, and by wholesome punishments to prevent the disorders of all degrees, *that* authoritie lieth neither in prelate nor pope, but only in the prince: and therefore in his dominions

B 2

'nions

\* We thought that the *Clergie* of our Realme had bene our Subjects *wholly*, but now we have well perceived that they bee but *halfe* our Subjects, yea and scarce our Subjects: For all the Prelates at their consecration make an Oath to the Pope clene contrary to the othe that they make to us. So that they seem to be his Subjects and not ours. *K. Henry VIII.* Speech to the Comyns, 1533.





‘ed him, the King being transubstantiated into  
‘a Pope. But, says he to *Bellarmino*, we do not  
‘attribute *that* to the King which *you* do to the  
‘Pope; nor would the King accept of it, should  
‘we ascribe it to him.’

But to return to Sir *Thomas More*. As strongly  
prejudiced as he was against the King’s Primacy  
or Supremacy, it appears by the following account  
of his Life, that he was not so extravagant in his  
notions of the Papal power as some others were.  
I’ve before observed that he tells *Tyndall* that he  
never put the Pope for part of the definition of  
the Church, defining it to be the *common known* English Works p. 514. col. 2  
*congregation of all Christian Nations under one*  
*Head the Pope*. Nay he affirms that a General  
Council is above the Pope, and that ‘there are  
‘orders in Christ’s Church by which a Pope may  
‘be both admonished and amended, and hath been  
‘for incorrigible mind and lack of amendment  
‘finally deposed and changed.’ Which is the  
very same conclusion that Dr. *Wiclif* maintained,  
and which was condemned by the Council of *Con-*  
*stance*. Sir *Thomas* seems to have thought that a Pope  
was not of the essence of the Visible Church, which  
might subsist without a Pope under the govern-  
ment of provincial Patriarchs, or Archbishops.

I beg leave to add one particular more concern-  
ing Sir *Thomas*, as a proof of his great integrity.  
His friend *Erasmus* observes that he stood but on  
ill terms with the Cardinal the King’s prime  
Minister of State. The Cardinal says he, when he  
was alive was far from being favourable to *More*  
and rather feared than loved him. Somewhat of  
this is intimated in the following Life. It seems  
Sir *Thomas* had courage enough to oppose him  
both in the Parliament and at the Council Board.  
To this latter Sir *Thomas* himself, seems to refer  
in the story he tells us of the Cardinal’s Project

Letters at  
the end of  
his English  
Works

of our taking the Emperor's part in the war He was engaged in against *France*, being there opposed by some of the Council. 'Some, says he, thought it wisdom that we should sit still and let them alone: but evermore against that way my lord used the fable of those wise men that because they would not be washed with the rayne that should make all the people fools went themselves in caves and hid them under the ground: But when the rayne had once made all the remenaunt fooles, and that they came out of their caves and wold utter their wisdom, the fooles agreed together against them and there all to beat them. And so, said his Grace, that if we wold be so wise that we wold sit in peace while the fools fought, they would not fail after to make peace and agree, and fall at length all upon us. This fable, adds Sir *Thomas*, for his parte, did in his dayes help the King and the Realme to spend many a fayre penny.'

English  
Works, p.  
892. col. 1

To the Cardinal's Vanity and influence Sir *Thomas* imputed the gay & pompous dress and apparel then in fashion among the Bishops and Clergy, which he disliked himself, and which gave great Offence to other serious and well-disposed People. — 'for oughte, says he, that I can see, a greate parte of the proude and pompous appaile that many priestes [used] in years not longe paste, they were by the pride and oversight of some few forced in a maner agaynst their own willes to weare. — I wote well it is worne out with manye whiche intende hereafter to bye no more suche agayne.'

As to the present edition of this *Life* of Sir *Thomas*, I assure the reader its an exact copy of a MS of it which I had from a neighbouring Gentleman. It is very fairly written in the hand in common use in K. *Henry VIII* and Q. *Elizabeth*



*betb's* reign, about the beginning of which it seems to have been composed by M. Rooper who was then about 65 years old. I've compared it with the late edition of this Life by Mr. Hearne from his\* Non-pareil MS. and excepting in two places, where that MS. seems to claim the preference, it's very plain, that this is much more complete and perfect than the other, as representing intelligibly what in Hearne's edition 1716. is downright nonsense. I'll only give two or three instances out of near an hundred that might be produced for this purpose.

Hearn's edit. p. 4. runs thus. *Who ere ever he had beene reader in Court:* whereas here it is, *Who before ever he had read in the Innes of Court.*

P. 9. *in all your beigh courts of Parliam.* Here it is *in your high court of Parliameut.*

— *it could not faile to lett and put to silence from the givinge of theire advice and counsell many of your discrete commons we are utterly discharged*—

Of this Hearn himself did not know what to make and therefore puts his *Sic* in the margin: but here the Sentence is plain, *it could not faile to let and put to silence from the givinge of their advice and counsell many of your discrete commons,* to the great hindrance of the common affairs, except that everie one of your commons weare *utterly discharged*—

P. 12. — *he began to talke of that Gallery at Hampton-Court.* — but here it is, *he began to talke of the gallery, [at Whiteball where the Cardinal and he were walking] Sayinge, I like this gallerie of your's much better than your Gallerie at Hampton-Court.*

B 4

li. 18.

\* At the beginning of it, *Herne* tells us, is this little note *in hoc signo + vinces*; This he critically observes is a sufficient proof that it was either copied from the Original or from some copy of great note. — *risum teneatis?*

li. 18. *Hearne* attempts a correction of the blunder *allweit*. *Sic*, sais he, *pro albeit*. But here we are shewn it should be *all-weare-it*.

P. 19. *he besough his grace of sufficient respect advised to consider of it*, which is nonsense; but here it is right, *he besought his grace of sufficient respite to consider of it advisedlie*.

Pag. 18. *Cardinal Woolsey waxed so wooe there with*. Where is the sense of this? But here it is as it should be, *Cardinal Woolsey, I say, waxed so woodd therewith: or so mad therewith*.

For the ease, as I thought, of the reader it is I who have dividved this Life into Sections, which in the MS. from which I copied it, is one continued Narrative without any Distinction of Paragraphs, &c. — I have also added such Passages in the Margin taken from *Erasmus* and *Sir Thomas's* own Works as seemed to me to give light to this History: And at the end of all I've placed by themselves the copies of several Letters of *Sir Thomas's*, printed by Mr. Justice *Rastall*, his Sisters Son, to some of which Mr. *Roper* has referr'd his reader, the Book in which they are being now very scarce and not to be come at but with difficultie.



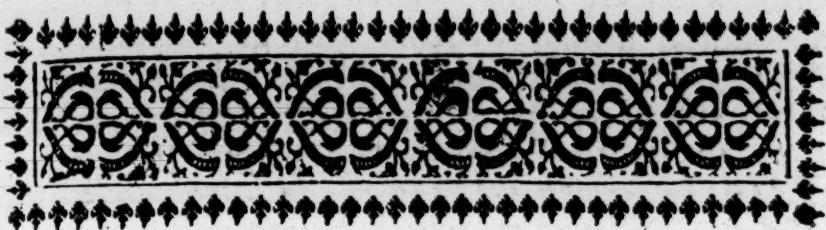
J. LEWIS.

The Mirrour of Virtue in Worldly Greatnes  
or The Life of Syr *Thomas More* sometime Lo:  
Chancellour of *England* at *Paris* M.D.C.XXVI.  
12<sup>o</sup>.

N. B. This is Printed from either a faulty MS. of Mr. *Roper's*, or else is altered by the editor T. P. See p. 3. among the Notes where his Book is said by Mistake to be 8<sup>o</sup> 1616.

THE





T H E  
L I F E *and* D E A T H  
O F  
*Sir Thomas Moore,*  
Sometimes *Lord - Chauncellour*  
of E N G L A N D.

I.



Orsomuche as *Sir Thomas Moore* Knight sometime Lord Chauncellor of *England*, a man of singular virtue and of a cleere unpotted conscience, as witnesseth \* *Erasmus*, more pure and white then the whitest snowe, of suche an angelicall witt as *England*, he saiethe, never had the like before, nor ever shall agen, universally, as well in the lawes of the Realme (a studie in effect able to occupie the whole life of a man) as in all other

\* — cui pectus erat omni nive candidius, ingenium quale *Anglia* nec habuit unquam, nec habitura est, alioquin nequam infeliciū ingeniorum parens. *Epist. Lib. xxix. epi. 42.*

\* Mr Roper did not write this Life till after 1557. two and twenty years after Sir Thom. death at least.

other sciences, right well studied, was in his daies accounted a man worthie famous memory: I *William Roper* (though most unworthie) his sonne in lawe by marriage of his eldest daughter, knowinge his dooings and minde, noe man livinge soe well by reason I was continually resident in his house by the space of sixteene yeeres and more, thought it therfore my part to set forthe suche matters touchinge his life as I could at this present call to remembrance, amongst which thinges verie manie notable, not meet to have binne forgotten, through negligence and \* longe continuance of time are slipped over out of my minde. Yet to thintent that the same should not utterlie perishe, I have at the desier of manie worschipfull freindes of mine, though very farre from the grace and worthines of him, nevertheles as farre forthe as my meane wit, memorie and knowledge would serve me, declared so much thearof as in my poore judgment seemed worthie to be remembered.

II. This *Sir Thomas Moore* after he had binne brought upp in the Latine tonge at † *St. Anthonye's* in *London* was by his Father's procurement received into the house of the right reverend, wise and learned Prelate Cardinall  
† *Morton*

\* The MS published by Mr. *Hearne* tho' manifestly very faulty, yet here seems to represent the Original rightly : — (a studie in effect able to occupie the whole life of a man) as in all other sciences right well studied, was in his dayes counted a man worthie famous memorie. —

† in the Parish of *Bennet-Fink* in *Threeneedle-Street*, *London*, belonging to the Hospital of *St. Anthony* here. This School was in great request in the reign of K. *Hen. VI.* and since, and at it were divers Persons of great reputation bred: as besides *Sir Thomas*, Archbp. *Heath* and Archbp. *Whitgift*. *Newcourt's Repertorium*, Vol. I. p. 286.



† *Morton*, wheare, though heweare yonge of yeeres, yet would he at Christmasse suddainlie sometimes step in amonge the \* players and never studyeing for the matter make a part of his owne theare presentlie amonge them, which made the lookers on more sport then all the players beside: In whose wit and towardnes the Cardinall much delightinge would often saie of him to the nobles that divers times dined with him, *This childe beere waitinge at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marveilous man.* Whearuppon for his better furtheraunce in learninge he placed him at \*\* *Oxforde*, wheare when he was in the †† *Greeke* and *Latine* tonges sufficientlie instructed, he was then for the studie of the lawe of the Realme put to an Inne of Chauncerie, called *New Inne*. He verie well prospered for his time, and from thence was admitted to *Lincolne's Inne* with very \* small allowance, continueinge theare his studie untill he was made and accounted a wor-  
thie utter Barrister. After this, to his great com-  
mendacions, he read for a good space a publike  
lecture of St. *Augustine* \* *de civitate Dei* in the  
churche

Archbp.  
of Canter-  
bury. 1486  
—1501.

\* ut nec  
ad refici-  
endos cal-  
ceos, nisi a  
patre pete-  
ret Pecun-  
iam habere.

† Sir *Thomas* thus speaks of this Cardinal, and Archbp. The Bp. *Morton* of *Ely* was a man of gret natural wit, very wel learned and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wise ways to win favour. — K. *Henry VII* made him A.Bp. of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, wherunto the Pope joined thonour of *Cardinal*. *History of K. Richard III.*

\* Whilst he was a youth in his Father's house in *London* he devyfed a goodlye hangyng of fyne paynted clothe with 9 Pageauntes and verses over of every of these Pageauntes, which verses exprested and declared what the images in those Pageauntes represented.

*More's English Works.*

Adolescens corædiolas et scripsit et egit. *Erasmi Epist.*

\*\* in St. *Mary* Hall. *Wood Athenæ Vol. I. col. 32.*

†† This was a language not very commonly taught or learned at this time in *England*. Sir *Thomas* learn'd it of *Thomas Lynacre* the famous Physician. *ibid. col. 12, 14.*

\* *Augustini* libros *de civitate Dei* publice professus est; adhuc pene adolescens auditorio frequenti, nec puduit, nec prenituit sac-  
cudotes ac senes a juvenè profano sacra discere. *Erasmi epist.*

churche of St. *Lawrence* in the owld *Jurie* whear-  
unto theare resorted Doctor \* *Grossin* an excel-  
lent cunninge man, and all the chiefe learned of  
the cittie of *London*. Theare was he made  
Reader of *Furnifolds* Inne so remayninge by the  
space of [three yeres] and more. After which  
time he gave himselfe to deuotion and prayer in  
the Charterhouse of *London*, religiouse livinge  
theare without vowe the space of *fower* Yeeres,  
until he resorted to the house of one Mr. *Colte* a  
gentleman of *Essex* that had often invited him  
thither, havinge three daughters whose honest  
conversacion and virtuous educacion provoked  
him theare speciallie to set his affection. And  
albeit his minde most served him to the seconde  
daughter for that he thought her the fayrest and  
best favoured, yet when he considered that it would  
be bothe great grieve and some shame to the eld-  
est to see her yonger sister preferred before her  
in marriage, he then of a certaine pittie framed his  
fancie to her, and soone after † married her,  
never the more discontinueinge his studie of the  
lawe at *Lincolne's Inne*, but applyeing still the  
same untill he was called to the Benche, and had  
\*\* reade theare twise which is as often as any  
Judge of the lawe dothe ordinarily reade.

## III. Before

\* *William Grocyn* born in the City of *Bristol*, and after-  
wards about 1504, was made Master of the College of *Al-  
ballows* at *Maidstone* in *Kent* where he died in the beginning  
of the Year 1522. Among other things he wrote a Tract in  
Latin against *Wiclif's* Wicket. *Wool* Athenæ Vol. I. col. 13, 14.

† *Maluit maritus esse castus, quam Sacerdos impurus.*  
*Erasmi* Epist.

Virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, ru-  
dem adhuc utpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habi-  
tam, quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc  
et literis instruendam curavit, et omni Musices genere doctam  
reddidit. *Erasmi* Epist.

\*\* ——— if I were againe to read in *Lincolnes-Inne*, and  
there were in hand with a statute that touched Treason.

*More's English Works*, p. 963. col. 2



III. Before which time he had placed his wife and children at *Bucklers-Burye* in *London* wheare he had by her \* 3 daughters and one sonne in virtue and learninge brought up from their youth, whome he woulde often exhorte to take virtue and learninge for their meate, and plaie for their sawce. Who before ever he had read in the Innes of Court was in the late time of Kinge *Henrye* the seaventhe made a Burgesse of the Parliament whearin was demanded by the Kinge (as I have heard reported) abowte 3 fiftenees for the marriage of his eldest daughter that then should be the Scottishe Queene, at the last debatinge whearof he made suche arguments and reasons thearagainst, that the Kinges demaundes weare thearbye overthrowen. Soe that one of the King's privie chamber, named Mr. *Tyler*, beinge present thearat, brought worde to the Kinge out of the Parliament house that a beardles boye had disapointed all his purpose. Whearuppon the Kinge conceivinge great indignation towards him could not be satisfied untill he had some waie revenged it. And forasmuche as he nothinge havinge, nothinge could lose, his grace deuised a causeles quarrell against his † Father, keepinge him in the Tower till he had made him paie to him a *hundred* pounds fine. Shortlic heeruppon it fortunied that this *Sir Thomas Moore* comminge in a suite to Doctor \*\* *Fox* byshop of *Winchester* *Sir Thomas* was now but 21.

\* *Margaret, Elizabeth, Cicely, John*, who were all married very young.

† *Sir John More* Knt. one of the Justices of the King's Bench.

\*\* *Dr. Richard Fox*. To this Prelate Bp *Fisher*. A D. 1525. dedicated his book against *Oecolampdius*, in which dedication he tells the Bishop, That by the breath of his favour ever since he had taken notice of him, he had not only been enflamed towards the study of good letters, but likewise more ardently to embrace Probity of Life.

*Winchester* one of the King's privie counsell, the Byshop called him aside, and pretended great favour towards him, and promised that if he would be ruled by him he would not faile but bringe him into the Kinges favor againe, meaninge, as it afterward appeared, to cause him thearbie to confesse his offence againste the Kinge, whearby his highnes might with the better cullor have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But when he came from the Byshop, he fell in communicacion with one Mr. \* *Whitford* his familiar freind then Chaplayne to that Byshop, and afterward a Father of *Syon*, and shewed him what the Byshop had saide to him, desiringe to heere his advise thearin, who for the passion of GOD pray'd him in noe wise to followe his counsell, for my Lord, quoth he, to serve the Kinge's turne will not sticke to agree to his owne Father's deathe. Soe Sir *Thomas Moore* returned to the Byshop noe more, and had not the Kinge soone after dyed he was determined to have gone over sea, thinkinge that beinge in the King's indignacion he could not live in *England* without great daunger.

IV. After this he was made one of the † under-sheriffes of *London*, by which office and his learninge togeather (as I have heard him saie) he gained without grieffe not soe little as 4 hundred pounds by the yeere. \* Sothe theare was at that time in none of the Princes † courts of the lawes of

\* *Richard Whitforde* who being minded to leave the world and all hopes of Preferment entred himself a Monk of the Order of *St. Brigit* in the Monastery called *Sion* near to *Brentford* in *Middlesex*. *Wood Athenæ*, Vol. I. col. 51. In his writings he stiles himself *the wretch of Sion*.

†† Of this his being so fully employed he gives the following account to his friend *Peter Giles* in a Letter to him prefixed



of this Realme any matter of importance or controverſie wherein he was not with the one partie of counſaile. Of whome for his learninge, wiſdome, knowledge and experience men had ſuche eſtimacion that before he came into the ſervice of Kinge *Henry* the eight, at the ſuite and inſtance of the Engliſhe Merchants, he was, by the King's conſent, made twiſe embaffadour in certaine great cauſes betwixt them and the Merchants of the *Stilliard*. Whoſe wiſe and diſcreet dealinge thearine, to his high commendacion, comminge to the King's underſtandinge provoaked his Highnes to cauſe Cardinall *Walſey*, then Lord Chauncellor, to procure him to his ſervice. And albeit the Cardinall, accordinge to the King's requeſt, carneſtlic \*travailed with him therfore, \*labour'd amonge manye other his perſwaſions alleaginge unto him how deere his ſervice muſt needes be unto his Maieſtie which could not with his honor but recompence him liberallie; Yet he, † loathe  
to

fixed to his *Utopia*. *Dum cauſas forenſes aſſidue alias agō, alias audio, alias arbiter ſuio, alias iudex dirimo, dum hic officiij cauſa viſitur, ille negocij; dum foris totum ferme diem alijs impartior, reliquum meis relinquo mibi, hoc eſt literis, nihil.*

In urbe *Londinenſi* in qua natus eſt, annos aliquot Judicem egit in cauſis civilibus. Id munus, ut minimum habet oreris (nam non ſedetur niſi die *Jovis* uſque ad Prandium) ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures cauſas abſolvit, nemo ſe geſſit integrius, remiſſa plerique pecunia quam ex Præſcripto debent qui litigant. Siquidem ante litis conteſtationem actor deponit tres drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas eſt exigere. His moribus effecit ut Civitati ſuæ longe chariſſimus eſſet. Decreverat autem hac fortuna eſſe contentus, quæ et ſatis haberet autoritatis, nec tamen eſſet gravibus obnoxia periculis. *Eraſmi Epilt.*

† Ab aula, Principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi ſemper peculiariter inviſa fuerit Tyrannis quæ admodum æqualitas gratiſſima — Quin nec in *Henrici* 8i. aulam pertrahi potuit, niſi multo negotio, cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam poſſit civilius aut modeſtius. Semel

to chaunge his estate, made suche meanes unto the Kinge by the Cardinall to the contrary that his Grace for that time was well satisfied. Now happened it after this, a great ship of his that was the Pope to arrive at *Southampton*, which the Kinge clayminge for a forfeiture, the Pope's embassador by sute unto his grace obteyned that he might for his Master the Pope have counsaile learned in the lawes of this Realme; and the matter in his presence, (beinge himselfe a singular civilian) in some publike place to be openlie heard and discuffed. At which time theare could none in our Lawe be founde so meete as our *Sir Thomas Moore* to be of counsaile with this Embassadour, who could repeate to the Embassador in Latine all the reasons and arguments by the learned counsaile on bothe sides alleadged. Uppon this the Counsaillers of eyther part, in presence of the Lord Chauncellor and other the Judges in the Starre Chamber had audience accordingle. Wheare *Sir Thomas Moore* not only declared to the Embassadour the whole effect of all their opinions, but allsoe in defence of the Pope's side argued soe learnedlie himselfe that bothe was the aforesaid forfeiture restored to the Pope, and himselfe amonge all the heerers for his upright and commendable demeanor thearin soe greatlie renowned, that for noe intreatie would the Kinge from hence forthe be induced any longer to forbear his Service. At whose first entrie thearunto he made him Master of the Requests, having then noe better roome  
voyde

Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem, in qua cum se cordatissime gessisset non conquieuit serenissimus Rex *Henricus* ejus nominis *octavus* donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus unquam vehementius ambijt in aulam admitti quam hic studuit effugere. *Erasmi Epist.*

voyde, and within a monethe after Knight, and one of his privie Councill. And soe was he from time to time by the Kinge advanced, continueinge in his singular favour and trustie service 20 yeeres and above. A good part thearof used the Kinge uppon holie daies when he had donne his owne devotions to † sende for him into his \* traverse, \* closet, and theare sometimes in matters of Astronomy, Geometry, Divinity, and suche other Faculties, and sometimes of his worldlie affaires, to sit and conferre with him. And otherwhile in the night would he have him up into his leades theare to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and opperacions of the starres and planets. And because he was of a pleasant disposicion, it pleased the Kinge and Queene after the counsaile had suppt, yea at the time of their supper, to sende for him to be merry with them. Who when he perceaved soe muche in his talke to delight that he could not in a monethe get leave to goe home to his wife and children (\* whose company he most desired) and to be absent from the Court two daies together but that he should be thither sent for againe, he muche mislikinge this restraint of libertye, beganne thearuppon somewhat to dissemble his natuer, and soe by little and little from his former accustomed mirth to disuse himselfe that he was of them from thenceforthe noe more soe ordinarilie sent for at

C

suche

† *Merum* in primis accivit Rex, quem sic in intimis habet ut a se nunquam patiatur discedere, sive serijs utendum est, nihil illo consultius, sive visum est Regi fabulis amœnioribus lavare animum, nullus comes festivior. *Erasmi* Epist.

\* Thus he represents to his friend *Peter Gyles* the manner of his treating them: *Nempe reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis.*



1520, fuche seasons. Then dyed one Mr. *Weston* \*  
threasurer of the Exchequer whose office after  
his deathe the Kinge of his offer freelic without  
anie askinge gave unto Sir *Thomas Moore*.

A.D. 1523 V. In the xiiij yeere of his gracious raigne  
in the theare was a parliament holden, whearof Sir  
*blackfriers Thomas Moore* was chosen speaker. Who be-  
inge very lothe to take this roome uppon him  
made an Oracion, not now extant, to the Kinge  
for his dischardge thearof. Whearunto when  
the Kinge would not consent, he spake unto his  
Grace in forme followeing.

Sithe, I perceave, most redoubted sove-  
raigne, that it standeth not with your plea-  
sure to reforme this eleccion, and cause it to  
be chaunged, but have by the mouthe of the  
most reverend Father in GOD my Lord Le-  
gate your Highnes Chauncellor thearunto gi-  
ven your royal assent, and have of your be-  
nignitie

\*—Quum antea Regi tantum esset a consilijs, nuper nec  
ambiens, nec expetens, ultroneo favore Principis humanissimi  
et eques auratus factus est, et munus habet apud *Britannos*  
cum honorificum imprimis tum etiam Salarij non penitendi  
quod appellatur a *Thesauris*.

Est quod *Moro* gratuleris. Nam Rex hunc nec ambientem  
nec flagitantem munere magnifico honestavit, addito Salario  
nequaquam penitendo. Est enim Principi suo a *Thesauris*.  
*Erasmi Epist.*

Sir *Thomas* himself thus enumerates his Promotions:

‘ When says he, I was firste of the Kinge’s Counsaile, and after  
‘ his under Treasurer, and in the time while I was Chaun-  
‘ cellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*.’ *English Works*, p. 868.  
‘ col. 1.

Whilst he was Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer His friend  
*Cuthbert Tonstall* dedicated to him his book *De Arte suppu-*  
*tandi*, for which he gives him the following reason: ‘ Cui —  
‘ aptiora hæc quam tibi esse possunt, qui totus in supputationi-  
‘ bus excutiendis occupatus in Regni ærario post Præfectum  
‘ primas tenes?’

nignitie determined farre above that I maie beare to enable me & for this office to repute me meet; rather then you should seem unto your Commons that they had made an unfit choice, I am thearfore and alwaies shall be readie obedientlie to conforme my selfe to thaccomplishment of your Highnes pleasure & commaundement. In most humble wise beseechinge your most noble Majestie that I maie with your graces favour before I farther enter thearinto make my humble petition for two lowlie petitions: the one privatelie concerneinge my selfe, the other the whole assemblie of your common house. For my selfe, gracious Sovereigne, that if hit mishappe me, in any thinge heerafter that is on the behalfe of your Commons in your high presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and in the lacke of good utterance by my misreherfal to pervert or impaire their prudent instruccions, It maie then like youre most noble Majesty of your abundant grace with the eye of your wonted pittie to pardon my simplenes givinge me leave to repaire againe to the common house and theare to conferre with them, and to take theare substanciall advise what thinges and in what wise I shall on their behalfe utter and speake before your noble grace to thintent theyr prudent devises and affaires be not by my simplenes and follie hindred or impaired. Which thinge if it should soe happen, as it weare like to mishappen me yf your gracious benignitie relieved not my oversight, it could not faile to be duringe my life a perpetuall grudge and heavines to my heart. The helpe and remedie wherof in manner afore remembered, is (my gracious Sovereigne) my first lowly suite and humble petition unto your Noble Grace.

My other humble request, most excellent Prince, is this. Forsomuch as theare be of your commons heere by your high commandment assembled for your Parliament a great number, which are after your accustomed manner appointed in the common house to entreat and advise of the common affaires amonge themselves apart : And albeit, most deare leige Lord, that accordinge to your prudent advise by your honorable writes everie wheare declared, theare hathe binne as due dilligence used in sendinge up to your Highnes Court of Parliament the most discreet Persons out of everie quarter that men could esteeme most meet thearunto. Whearby it is not to be doubted that theare is a verie substantiall assemblie of right wise, meet and politique Persons : Yet, most virtuous Prince, sithe amonge soe many wise men neyther is everie man wise alike, nor amonge soe many alike well wittie everie man alike well spoken, and it often happeneth that likewise as much follie is uttered with painted polished speeche, soe manie boistrous and rude in language see deepe indeed, and give righte substantiall counsell ; and sithe alsoe in matters of great importance the minde is soe often occupied in the matter that a man rather studieth what to saie then how, by reason whearof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole cuntry fortuneth while his minde is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speake in suche wise as he would afterward wishe to have binne uttered otherwise, and yet noe worse will had he when he spake it then he had when he would so gladlie change it. Therefore, most gracious Soueraigne, consideringe that in your high Court of Parliament



is nothinge treated but matter of weight & importance concerninge your realme and your royall estate, it could not faile to \* let & \* hindre put to silence from the givinge of their advise & counsaile manie of your discret Comons, to the great hindrance of the common affaires, except that everie one of your commons weare utterlie dischardged of all doubts and feares how any thing that it shold happen them to speak shold happen of your highnes to be taken: And in this point though your well known and proved benignitie putteth everie man in good hope, yet suche is the weight of the matter, suche is the reverend dreade that the timerous hearts of your naturall subjects conceive towards your high Majestie our most redoubted Kinge and undoubted Soueraigne, that they cannot in this point finde themselves satisfied except your gracious bountie thearin declared put awaie the scruple of their timerous mindes, and animate and incourage them and put them out of doubt. Yt maie therefore like your most abundant grace, our most benigne and godlie Kinge, to give all youre Commons heere assembled your most gracious license and pardon freelie without doubt of your dreadfull displeasure everie man to dischardge his conscience, and boldlie in everie thinge incident amonge us to declare his advise; and, whatsoever happen anie man to saie, that it maie like your Majestie of your inestimable goodnesse to take all in good part, interpretinge everie mans wordes, how cunningelie soever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeale towards the profit of your realme and honor of your royal Person, the prosperous estate and preservacion whearof, most excellent soveraigne, is the thinge which we all

your lovinge subjects accordinge to our most bounden dutie of our naturall allegiance, most highlie desier and praie for.

V. At this Parliament Cardinall *Wolsey* fownde himfelfe muche greived with the Burgesſes thearof for that nothings was ſoe ſoone donne or ſpoken thearin but that it was immediatlye blowne abroad in everie alehouſe. It fortun'd at that Parliament a verie great ſubſidie to be demanded, which the Cardinall fearinge would not paſſe the Common houſe determin'd for the furtherance thearof to be perſonallie theare himſelfe. Before whoſe comminge after longe debatinge theare whither it weare better but with a fewe of his Lords, as the moſt opinions of the houſe was, or with his whole traine to receave him theare amongſt them: 'Maſters, quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*, forasmuche as my Lord Cardinall latelie laied to our charges the lightnes of our tonges for things uttered out of this houſe, it ſhall not in my minde be amiſſe to receave him with all his pompe, with his maces, his \* pillers, pollaxes, his croſſes, his hatt and the greate ſeale to; to thintent that if he finde the like fault with us heerafter Wee maie be the bolder from ourſelves to laie the blame on thoſe that his grace bringeth hither with him.' Whearunto the houſe agreeinge he was receaved accordinglie. Wheare after that he had in a ſolemne Oration by manie reaſons proved how neceſſarie it was the demande theare moved to be graunted, and further ſhewed that leſſe woulde not ſerve to maintaine the  
Princes

\* Every Cardinal of the Roman Church has a Pillar of Silver carried before him as an emblem of his being a Pillar of the Church. But *Wolsey* out of his love of Pomp and Splendor had two born before him.

Princes purpose, He seeinge the companie sittinge still silent and thearunto nothinge answearinge, contrarie to his expectacion shewinge in themselves towardses his request noe towardnes of inclinacion, saied unto them, ' Masters, you ' have many wise and learned men amongst you, ' and since I am from the Kinge's owne Person ' sent hither unto you for the preservacion of ' your selves and all the Realme, I thinke it ' meete you give me some reasonable answere.'

Whereat everie man holdinge his peace, then beganne he to speake to one Mr. *Marney*, after-  
ward Lord *Marney*, How saie you, quoth hee, *Sir Henry Marney, Knt. of the Garter*  
Mr. *Marney*? who makinge him noe answere neyther, he severallie asked the same question of diverse other accompted the wisest of the companie, to whome when none of them all would give so muche as one worde, beinge agreed before, as the custome was, to answere by their Speaker, ' Masters, quoth the Cardinall, unlesse ' it be the manner of your house, as of likelihood ' it is, by the mouthe of your Speaker whome ' you have chosen for trustie and wise, as he is ' indeed, in such cases to utter your mindes, ' heere is without doubt a marveilous obstinate ' silence,' and therefore he required answere of Mr. Speaker. Who first reverentlie on his knees excusinge the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage able to amaze the wisest in a Realme, and after by many probable arguments provinge that for them to make answere it was neyther expedient nor agreeable with the auntient libertie of the house, in conclusion for himselfe shewed that though they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except everie one of them could put into his head of their severall witts, he alone in so weightie a matter was unfit to make his grace answere,



answeare. Whearuppon the Cardinall, displeased with Sir *Thomas Moore* that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed.

VI. And after the Parliament ended, in his gallarie at *White hall* at *Westminster* [he] uttered unto him his griefes sayeing: Would GOD you had binne at *Roome*, Mr. *Moore*, when I made you speaker. Your grace not offended soe would I to, quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*. And to winde suche quarrells out of the Cardinall's head, he beganne to talke of the gallarie, sayeing, I like this gallarie of yours muche better then your gallarie at *Hampton-Court*. Whearwith soe wiselie broke he off the Cardinal's displeasing talke, that the Cardinall at that present, as it seemed, wist not what more to saie unto him; But for the revengment of his displeasure \* counsailed the Kinge to sende him Embassadour to *Spaine*, commendinge to his highnes his wisdom, fittnes and learninge for that voyage. And, the difficultie of the cause considered, none was theare, he said, soe fit to serve his grace thearin. Which when the Kinge had broken to Sir *Thomas Moore*, and that he had declared unto his grace how unfit a journey it was for him, the nature of the countrie, the disposicionn of his complexion soe disagreeinge together that he should never be able to doe his grace acceptable service theare, knowinge right well that if his grace sente him thither he should sende him to his grave; but shewinge himselfe neverthelesse readie accordinge to his duty, allweare it with the losse of his life, to fullfill his graces pleasure in that behalfe;  
The

\* *Cardinalis dum viveret Moro parum æquus erat, eumque metuebat verius quam amabat. Erasmi Epist.*

The Kinge alloweing well his answere, saied unto him: 'It is not our pleasure, Mr. *Moore*, to doe you hurt, but to doe you good would we be glad. We will therefore for this purpose devise uppon some other, and imploie your service otherwise.' And suche entier favour did the Kinge beare him, that he made him Chauncellor of the Duchie of *Lancaster* 1528. uppon the deathe of Sir *Richard Wingfield* who had that office before. And for the pleasure he tooke in his companie would his grace suddenly sometimes come home to his house at *Chelsey* to be merry with him, Whither, on a time, unlooked for he came to dinner to him, and after dinner in a faire garden of his walked with him by the space of an hower holdinge his arme about his necke. As soone as his grace was gone I rejoycinge thearat, saide to Sir *Thomas Moore*, how happie he was whome the Kinge had soe familiarlie entertained as I never had seene him doe to any other, except Cardinall *Wolfsey* whome I sawe his grace walke once with arme in arme. 'I thanke our Lord, sonne, quoth he, I finde his grace my very good Lord indeed, and I beleive he dothe as singularlie favor me as anye subject within this Realme: howbeit, Sonne *Roeper*, I maie tell thee, I have no cause to be prowde thearof, for if my head would winne him a Castle in *Fraunce* (for then was theare warres beetwixt us) it shoulde not faile to goe.'

VII. This Sir *Thomas Moore*, amonge all other his virtues, was of such meeknes, that if it had fortun'd him with any learned men resortinge to him from *Oxford* or *Cambridge* or elsewheare, as theare did diverse, some for desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous report of his wisdom and learninge, some for  
sutes

suites of the Universities, to have \* entered in argument (whearin weare fewe comparable to him) and soe farre to have discoursed with them thearin that he might perceave they could not without some inconvenience howl'd out muche further disputacion against him, then, least he should discourage them, as he that sought not his owne glorie but rather would seeme conquered then to discourage students in their studies ever shewing himselfe more desirous to learne then to teache, woulde he by some wittie devise courteouslie breake of into some other matter and give over. Of whome for his wisdome and learninge had the Kinge suche an opinion that at suche time as he attended uppon his highnes takinge his progresse eyther to *Oxforde* or *Cambridge* wheare he was received with very eloquent Oracions, his grace would alwaies assigne him as one that was † prompt & readie thearin extempore to make answer thearunto. Whose manner was, whensoever he had occasion either heere or beyond the sea to be in anie Universitie, not onelie to be present at the readings and disputacions theare commonlie used, but alsoe learnedlie to dispute amonge them himselfe. Who beinge Chauncellor of the Duchie was made Embassadour twise in commission with Cardinal *Wolsey*, once

\* in disputationibus nihil fingi potest. acutius adeo ut summis etiam Theologis saepe negotium facebat, in ipsorum arena versans. *Erasmi* Epi.

† Vix alium reperias qui feliciter dicat extempore adeo felici ingenio felix lingua subservit. Ingenium praesens et ubique praevolans, memoria parata, quae cum omnia habeat velut in numero, prompte et incontanter suggerit quicquid tempus aut res postulat.

Ingenium est prorsus incomparabile, memoria felicissima, dicendi facultas promptissima. *Erasmi* Epist.



once to th'Emperor *Charles* into *Flanders*, the o-  
ther time to the *Frenche* Kinge into *Fraunce*.

VIII. Not longe after this, the Water-bailiffe  
of *London*, sometime his servant, heeringe wheare  
he had binne at dinner certaine merchants li-  
berallie to raile against his owld Master, waxed  
soe discontented thearwith that he hastelie came  
to him and towld him what he had heard, and  
weare I, Sir, quoth he, in suche favor and au-  
thoritie with my prince as you are, suche men  
suerlie should not be suffered soe villanouslie and  
falselie to misreport and slander me. Wherefore  
I would wishe you to call them before you, and  
to their shame for their lewde malice to punishe  
them. Who smilinge uppon him saied, 'Why, Mr.  
'Water-bailiff, would you have me punishe them  
'by whome I receave more benefitt then by you  
'all that be my friendes? Let them a Godname  
'speake as lewdelie as they list of me, and shoote  
'never soe many arrowes at me, as long as they  
'doe not hit me, what am I the worse? But if  
'they should once hit me then would it indeed  
'a little trouble me. Howbeit I trust by GOD's  
'helpe thear shall none of them once be able to  
'touche me. I have more cause, I assure you  
'Mr. Waterbailiffe, to pittie them then to be  
'angrie with them.' Suche fruitfull communi-  
cacion had he often with his familiar freinds.

VIII. Soe on a time walkinge with me alonge  
the *Thames* side at *Chelfey*, in talkinge of other  
thinges he saide unto me; 'Now would to our  
'Lord, sonne *Rooper*, uppon condicion that three  
'thinges weare well established in Christendome  
'I weare put in a sacke and heere presentlie  
'cast into the *Thames*.' What greate thinges be  
those Sir, quoth I, that you should soe wishe?  
'Wouldst

' Wouldst thou knowe, sonne *Rooper*, what they  
 ' be, quoth he? Yea marye with a good will,  
 ' Sir, if it please you quoth I. In faith, sonne,  
 ' they be these, quoth he. The *first* is That  
 ' whearas the most part of Christian Princes be  
 ' at mortall warres they weare all at univerrall  
 ' peace. The *second* that wheare the Church  
 ' of Christ is at this present fore afflicted with  
 ' many errors and heresies, it weare settled in  
 ' perfect uniformitie of religion. The *third*,  
 ' that wheare the matter of the King's marriage  
 ' is now come in question it weare' to the glorie  
 ' of GOD and quietnes of all parties brought  
 ' to a good conclusion.' Whearby as I could ga-  
 ther, he judged that otherwise it would be a  
 disturbance to a great part of Christendome.  
 Thus did it, by his dooings throughout the  
 whole course of his life, appeere, that all his  
 travaile and paines, without respect of earthlie  
 commodities either to himselfe or any of his,  
 weare onlie uppon the service of GOD, the  
 prince and the Realme wholie bestowed and  
 employed, whome I heard in his latter time to  
 saie that he never asked of the Kinge for  
 himselfe the valewe of a pennye.

IX. As Sir *Thomas Moore*'s custome was dailie  
 (if he weare at home) besides his \* private prai-  
 ers with his children, to saie the VII psalmes,  
 the Lettanie, and the Suffrages followeing, so  
 † manner. was his † guise nightlie before he went to bed  
 with his wife, children and household to goe to his  
 chappell, and theare on his knees ordinarily to  
 saie certaine psalmes and collects with them.  
 And because he was desirous for godlie purpo-  
 ses

\* Habet suas horas quibus DEO litet precibus, non ex  
 more, sed ex pectore depromptis. *Erasmi Epif.*

ses solitarie to sequester himselfe from worldlie  
 companie, a good distance from his house build-  
 ed he a place called the Newe-buildinge whearin  
 was a Chappell, a Librarie, and a Gallarye, in  
 which, as his use was on other daies to occupie  
 himselfe in prayer and studie theare together,  
 soe on the fridaie used he continuallie to be  
 theare from Morninge to Night, spendinge his  
 time onlie in devout praiers and spirituall exer-  
 cises. And to provoake his wife and children to  
 the desier of heavenlie thinges, he would some-  
 times use these wordes unto them. ‘ \* It is now  
 noe mastrie for children to goe to heaven, for  
 everie bodie givethe you good counsaile, everie  
 bodie giveth you good example. You see Vir-  
 tue rewarded and Vice punished, soe that you  
 are carried up to heaven even by the chinnes.  
 But if you live the time that noe man will give  
 you good counsaile, noe man will give you good  
 example, when you shall see Virtue punished  
 and Vice rewarded, if you will then stande fast  
 and firmelie sticke to GOD uppon paine of life,  
 though you be but halfe good, [GOD will al-  
 low you for whole good.] Yf his wife or anie  
 of his children had binne diseased or troubled,  
 he would saie unto them; ‘ We maie not looke,  
 at our pleasures, to goe to heaven in feather-  
 beds, it is not the way; for the LORD him-  
 selfe went thither in great paine by many tri-  
 bulacions which was the pathe whearin he  
 walked thither, for the servant maie not looke  
 to be in better case then his Master.’ And as  
 he would in this sort perswade them to take their  
 trowbles patientlie, soe would he in like sort  
 teache them to withstand the Divill and his  
 tempta-

\* Cum amicis sic fabulatur de vita futuri seculi ut agnoscas  
 illum ex animo loqui nec sine optima spe. *Erasmi Epist.*



temptacions valiantly, sayeing, ' Whosoever  
 ' will marke the Divill and his temptacions shall  
 ' finde him thearin much like to an ape, who  
 ' not well looked to will be buisie and bold to  
 ' do shrewde turnes, and contrariwise beinge  
 ' spyed will suddainelie leape backe and adven-  
 ' ture noe farther. Soe the Divill findinge a  
 ' man idle, sloathfull, and without resistance  
 ' readie to receave his temptacions waxethe soe  
 ' hardie that he will not faile still to continewe  
 ' with him untill to his purpose he have through-  
 ' lie brought him. But on the other side if he  
 ' see a man with dilligence persevere to with-  
 ' stand his temptacions he waxethe soe wearie  
 ' that in conclusion he utterlie forsaketh him.  
 ' For as the divill of disposition is a spirit of  
 ' soe high pride as he cannot abide to be mock-  
 ' ed, soe is he of natuer soe envious that he  
 ' feareth anie more to assault him least he should  
 ' thearbie not onlie catche a fowle fall himselfe,  
 ' but also should minister to the man more mat-  
 ' ter of merit.' Thus delighted he evermore  
 not only in vertuous exercises to be occupied  
 himselfe, but alsoe to exhort his wife, children  
 and housholde to embrace the same and followe  
 it. To whome for his notable Virtue and God-  
 lines GOD shewed, as it seemed, a manifest mi-  
 raculous token of his speciall favour towardes  
 him. At suche time as my Wife (as many other  
 that yeere weare) was sicke of the \* sweatinge  
 sicknes. Who lyeinge in soe great extremitie of  
 that disease as by no invencion or devises that  
 the

1528

\* hoc su-  
 dore nemo  
 nisi primo  
 die perit.  
 Eras. epif.

\* This distemper began at first in 1483, in Henry the  
 seventh's army upon his landing at *Milford-haven* and spread  
 it self in *London* from the 21st of *September* to the end of  
*October*. It return'd here five times and always in summer  
 first in 1485; then in 1506; afterward in 1517, when it was

the cunningst and expertest phisicians could use could keepe her from sleepe, soe that bothe the phisicians and all other theare present dispaired of her recoverie and gave her over, he, most entierlie tendringe her, beinge in no small heavinessse for her, by praier at GOD's hande sought to get her remedie. Whearuppon goinge up after his usuall manner into his aforesaide Newe-Buildinge theare in his chappell on his knees with teares most devoutelie besought Almightye GOD that it would like his goodnesse, unto whome nothinge was impossible, if it weare his blessed will at his prayer to vouchsafe gratiouly to heere his petition. Wheare incontinent came into his minde that a glister should be the onelie waie to helpe her. Which when he towlde the phisicians they by and by confessed that if theare weare anie hope of healthe that that was the onlie remedie, muche marvailinge of themselves that they had not afore remembred it. Then was it presentlie administred to her sleeping \* \* Who by no means could have been brought unto swea-ting. which could by noe meanes have binne brought unto meltinge. And albeit, after that she was thearbie throughlie awaked, GOD's markes (an evident undoubted token of deathe) plainlie appeared uppon her, yet she, contrary to all their expecta-

so violent that it kill'd in the space of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520 and agen in 1528, which seems to be the time when this Lady had it, and prov'd mortal in the space of six hours. The manner of its seizure was thus; first it affected some particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirst, restlessness, sickness at stomach and heart, (tho seldom vomiting) head ach, delirium, then faintness, and excessive drowsiness. The pulse quick and vehement, and the breath short and labouring. None recovered under 24 hours. The only cure was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary for a long time: Sleep to be avoided by all means. Dr. *Friend's History of Phisick.* Vol. II. p. 335, &c.

*Mori ep.  
Erasm.  
Aug. 1520*

expectations, was, as it was thought, by her father's most fervent prayers miraculously recovered, & at length to perfect health restored: whome, if it had pleased GOD, at that time to have taken to His mercie, her Father saied he would never have medled with worldlie matters more.

IX. Now while Sir *Thomas Moore* was Chauncellor of the Duchie, the See of *Roome* chaunced to be voide which was cause of much trouble. For Cardinal *Wolfey*, a man very ambitious, and desirous (as good hope and likelihood he had) to aspire to that dignitie, perceivinge himselfe of his expectacion disappointed by meanes of th' Emperour *Charles* foe highlie commendinge one Cardinall *Adrian* sometime his Schoolemaster to the Cardinalls of *Roome* in the time of their eleccion for his virtue and worthines that thear-uppon he was chosen Pope; who from *Spaine*, wheare he was then resident, comminge on foote to *Roome* before his entrie into the Cittie did put of his hose and shooes, and barefooted and barelegged passed through the cittye streetes towards his Pallace with such humblenes that all the people had him in greate reverence; Cardinall *Wolfey*, I saie, waxed foe \* woodd thear-with, that he studied alwaies to revenge his greife against the Emperour: which as it was the beginninge of a lamentable tragedie, foe some part of it, not impertinent to my present purpose, I recconed requisite heere to put downe in remembrance.

\* A. S.  
pope mad,  
cruel,  
fierce.

X. This Cardinall therefore, not ignorant of the Kinge's inconstant and mutable disposicion, soone enclined to withdrawe his devotion from his

\* then he waxed furiously mad. *Tyndal* Practice of Prelates



his owne most noble, virtuos and lawfull wife  
 Queene *Katherine* Aunt to th<sup>e</sup> Emperor uppon eve-  
 rie light occasion, and uppon other, to her in no-  
 billitye, wisdome, virtue and favour farre incom-  
 parable, to fix his affeccion: meaninge to make  
 this his so light disposicion an instrument to  
 bringe about his soe ungodlie intent, devised to  
 allure the Kinge (then allreadie contrarie to his  
 minde nothinge lesse lookinge for then for fall-  
 inge in love with Lady *Anne Bullen*) to cast fan-  
 cie to one of the French King's Sisters. Which  
 thinge (because of the enmitie and warre that was  
 at that time betweene the French Kinge and  
 th<sup>e</sup> Emperor whome, for the cause before remem-  
 bred, he mortally maligned) he was verie desirous  
 to procure. \* And for the better atcheivinge  
 therof requested † *Longland* the Byshop, beinge  
 ghostlie Father to the Kinge, to put a scruple  
 into his graces head that it was not lawfull for him  
 to marrie his brother's wife. Which the Kinge  
 not sorrie to heere of, opened it first unto Sir *Tho.*  
*Moore*, whose counsaile he requested thearin,  
 sheweinge him certaine places of scripture that  
 seemed somewhat to serve his appetite. Which  
 when he had perused, and, that, as one which  
 never had professed the studie of Divinitie, him-  
 selfe † excused to be unmeet manie waies to  
 meddle with any suche matters, the Kinge, not  
 satisfied with his answeare, soe sore still pressed  
 upon him therefore, that in conclusion he condif-  
 cended to his graces motion. And farther, for-  
 somuche as the ease was of suche importance as  
 D needed

† *John*  
*Longland*  
 made Bi-  
 shop of  
*Lincolne* by  
 Papal Pro-  
 vision,  
 Mar. 20:  
 520:

\* When there was founde no other waye he enspired the  
 Kinge that the Queene was not his wife by the Bishoppe of  
*Lincolne* his confessor, as the sayerge was.

*Tyndal* Practice of Prelates:

† Utinam periculoso negotio se nunquam admiscuisset, et  
 causam Theologicam cessisset Theologis. *Erasmi* Epist.

† *Cuthbert Tunstall*  
translated  
to the See  
of *Dur-*  
*ham*, 1530  
\* *John*  
*Clerk Ep.*  
of *Bath*,  
1523.

needed great advisement and consideration, he besought his grace of sufficient respite to consider of it advisedlie. Whearwith the Kinge, well contented, said unto him, that † *Tunstall* and \* *Clarke* Byshops of *Bathe* and *Durham*, with other learned of his privie counsell, should also be dealers thearin. Soe Sir *Tho. Moore* departed & conferred those places of Scripture with the exposition of diverse of the owld holie Doctors. And at his comminge to the Court in talkinge with his grace of the foresaid matters, he said, 'To be plaine with your Grace, neither my Lord of *Durham*, nor my Lord of *Bathe*, though I knowe them bothe to be wise, virtuous & learned Prelates, nor my selfe with the rest of your counsaile, beinge all your Grace's owne servants, for your manifold benefitts beinge dailie bestowed on us so much bownden unto you be in my minde meete counsellors for your Grace heerin. But if your grace meane to understande the truthe, suche counsailors may you have devised, as nether for respect of theyr owne worldlie commoditie, nor for feare of your princelie authoritie will be inclined to deceave you.' To whome he named then St. *Jerome*, St. *Augustine* and divers other owld holie Doctors bothe Greekes and Latines: and moreover shewed him what authorities he had gathered out of either of them. Which although the Kinge (as disagreeable to his desier) did not verie well like of, yet weare they by Sir *Tho. Moore* (who in all his communication with the Kinge in that matter had alwaies most discretlie behaved himselfe) soe wisely tempered, that he both presentlie tooke them in good part, and oftentimes had thearof conference with him againe.

XI. After this weare theare certaine questions amonge his counsaile proponed, Whether the Kinge needed in this case to have anye scruple at all? and if he had, What waie weare best to be taken to deliver him of it? The most part of them weare of the opinion that theare was good cause of scruple, and that for discharge of it, suite weare meete to be made to the Sea of *Roome*, wheare the Kinge hoped by liberalitie to obtaine his purpose; Whearein, as it after appeared, he was farre deceived. Then was theare for the examinacion and tryall of this Matrimony procured from *Roome* a Commission in which Cardinall *Campeius*, and Cardinall *Wolsey* weare joyned Commissioners, who for the determinacion thearof sat at the *blacke-Friars* in *London*, wheare a libell was cast in for the annullinge of the saide Matrimony, allcaginge the Marriage betweenethe Kinge and Queene to be unlawfull, and for prooffe of the marriage to be lawfull was theare brought in a dispensacion, in which after divers disputacions theareuppon holden, theare appeared an imperfeccion which, by an Instrument or Briefe, fownde uppon searche in the theasurie of *Spaine* and sent to the Commissioners in *England*, was supplied. And soe should judgmente have binne given by the Pope accordinglie, had not the Kinge, uppon intelligence thearof, before the same judgment, appealed to the next generall Councell; after whose appellacion the Cardinalls uppon that matter sat noe longer. Yt fortunied, before the matter of the saide Matrimony brought in question, When I in talke with Sir *Tho. Moore* (of a certaine joie) commended unto him the happie estate of this Realme, that had soe Catholicke a Prince that noe hereticke durst shewe



his face; so vertuous & \* learned a Clergie, soe grave & sownd a nobilitie, and soe lovinge obedient subjects all in one faithe agreeinge together. Trothe it is indeed, sonne *Rooper*, quoth he, and in all degrees & estates of the same went farre beyond me in commendacion thearof, and yet, sonne *Rooper*, I praie GOD, saied he, that some of us as highe as we seeme to sit appon the mountaines treadinge heretickes under our feet like ants, live not the daie that we would gladlie bee at league and composition with them to let them have their churches quietlie to themselves, soe that they would be contented to let us have ours quietlie to ourselves. After that I had towld him manye considerations why he had noe cause to saie soe; Well, saied he, I praie GOD sonne *Rooper*, some of us live not till that daie, sheweinge me noe reason why he should put any doubt thearin. To whome, I saied, by my troath, Sir, it is verie desperatelie spoken: that vile tearme, I cry GOD mercie, did I give him. Who, by these wordes perceavinge me in a

\* heat or  
passion.

\* fume, saide merrily unto me, Yt shall not be soe, Yt shall not be soe. In whome in 16 yeeres & more, beinge in the house conversant with him, I could not perceave as † once in a fume.

XI.

\* The Kynge our Sovereigne lorde that now is, and long mote be hath in his time as prudently and as vertuously provided for this Realme that it should have suche Prelates and Ordinaries as should in learning, wisdom, justice and living bee meet and convenient therefore as any Prince hath, nomber for nomber. that hath raigned over this Realme, I dare boldly say this hundred yere. *More's English Works, p 890. col. 1.*

† *Consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur in qua nulla tragoedia, nulla rixa. Erasmi epist.*

Some have sayde that when *Constantine* was gotten away I was fallen for anger in a wonderful rage. But surelye thought I would not have suffred him to go if it would have pleased hym to have taryed syl in the stocks: yet neither was

XI. But now to retorne wheare I left : After the supplieinge of the imperfeccion of the dispensacion, sent, as is before rehearsed, to the Commissioners into *England*, the Kinge, takinge the matter for ended, and then meaninge noe farther to proceede in that matter, appointed the Byshop of *Durham* and Sir *Tho. Moore* to goe Embassadors to *Cambray*, a place neither Emperiall nor Frenche, to treat a peace betweene the Emperour, the Frenche Kinge and him: in the concludinge whearof Sir *Tho. Moore* so worthelie handled himselfe, procuringe in our league farre more benefites unto this realme then, at that time, by the Kinge or his counsell was thought possible to be compassed, that for his good service in that voiage, the Kinge, when he after made him Lord Chauncellor, caused the Duke of *Norfolke* openlie to declare to the people, as you shall heere heereafter more at large, how muche all *Englande* was bound to him. Now uppon the comminge † home of the byshop of *Durham* and Sir *Tho. Moore* from *Cambray*

I than so heavy for the losse, but that I had youth enough left me to weare it oute, nor so angry with any manne of myne that I spake them any evyll worde for the matter, more then to my Porter, That he should se the Stockes mended and locked fast, that the Prisoner stale not in againe.

*Mores English Workes*, p. 902. col. 1.

† Sir *Thomas More* in the latier end of the harvest 1528. being returned from *Cambray* in *Flanders* rode immediately to the King to the Court at *Woodstock*. And while he was there with the King newes was brought to him by his Son in law *Heron* that part of his dwelling house at *Chelsea*, and all his barnes there full of corne sodenly fell on fire and were burnt, and all the corne therein by the negligence of one of his neighbour's cartes, and by occasion thereof were divers of his next Neighbours barns burnt also. On this he wrote a letter to his Lady, in which after comforting her under the

loss

1530.

braie the Kinge was as \* earnest of perswadinge of Sir *Thomas Moore* to agree to the matter of his marriage as before, by many and divers waies provokinge him thearunto, for which, as it was thought, he the rather soone after made him Lord Chauncellor, and farther declaringe unto him that though at his goinge over sea to *Cambray* he was in utter despaire theareof, yet he had conceived since some good hope to compasse it. For albeit his marriage, being against the positive lawes of the Church, and against the written lawe of GOD was holpen by the dispensacion, yet was theare another thinge fownde out of late, he saide, whearby his marriage appeered to be soe directlie against the lawe of natuer as it could in noe wise be by the Churche dispensable, as Doctor † *Stokeslye*, whome he had then [newlye] preferred to be byshop of *London* and in that case cheiflie credited was able to instruct him, with whome he praied him in that point to conferre. But for all his conference with him he sawe nothinge of such force as could induce him to chaunge his opinion thearin. Which notwithstandinge, the byshop shewed himselfe in his report of him to the Kinges Highnes soe good and favourable, that he saide he fownde him in his grace's case very toward, and desirous to finde some good matter whearwith he might truli serve his

loss, and exhorting her to bear it with patience and Submission to the Will of GOD: He prayes her to make searche what his poor neighbours have losse, and to bid them take no thought therfore, for tho' he should not leave himselfe a spoone, there should no poor Neighbour of his bere any losse by any chance happened in his house. *Mores English*

Works, p. 1419. col. 1.

\* See Sir *Thomas's* Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell* at the end.

† *John Stokesly* Bishop of *LONDON* a man of greate witte and learning but of litle discretion and humanity. *Hall Chro.*



his grace to his contentation. This Byshop *Stokesley*, beinge by the Cardinall not longe before in the *Starre-chamber* openlie put to rebuke, and awarded to the *Fleet*, not brookinge his contumelious usage & thinkinge that forasmuche as the Cardinall, for lacke of such forwardnes in settinge forth the Kinges Divorce as his grace looked for, was out of his Highnes favour, he had now a good occasion offered him to revenge his quarrell, farther to increase the King's displeasure towards him, travailed to invent some colourable devise for the King's furtherance in that behalfe: Which, as \* before is remembred, he to his \* afore Grace revealed, hopinge thearby to bringe the Kinge to the better likinge of himselfe and the more mislikinge of the Cardinall whome his Highnes therfore loone after displaced, and to Sir *Tho: Moore*, the rather to † move him to incline to his side the same in his stead committed. Who betweene the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* beinge brought through *Westminster-hall* to his place in the Chauncerie, the duke of *Norfolke*, in audience of all the people theare assembled, shewed, that he was from the Kinge himselfe streightlie chardged by speciall commission, theare openlie in presence of them all to make declaracion how muche all *England* was beholdinge to Sir *Thomas More* for his good service, and how worthie he was to have the highest roome in the Realme, and how deerly his grace loved and trusted him, for which, saied the Duke, he had great cause to rejoyce. Whearunto Sir *Tho: More*, amongst all  
D 4 other

† *Thomas Morus*, doctrina et prohibitate spectabilis Vir, Cancellarius in ejus locum constituitur, neutiquam Regis Causæ æquior. *Thuan*i Historia Lib. I. p. 23.  
1530. 21 Hen. VIII. *Thomas More* Miles Cancellarius Angliæ habuit magnum sigillum sibi liberatum die Lunæ 25 Octob.  
Chron. Series Cancelli. per *Gul. Dugdale*.

other his humble and wise sayings not now in my memory, answered, that although he had good cause to take comfort of his Highnes singular favour towards him, that he had, farre above his deserts, soe highlie commended him, to whome therefore he acknowledged himselfe most deerlie bound: Yet nevertheles he must for his owne part needes confesse that in all things by his grace alleadged he had donne no more then was his dutie: and farther disabled himselfe to be unmeet for that roome, thearin consideringe how wise and honourable a Prelate had latelie before taken soe great a fault, he said, he had noe cause thearof to rejoyce. And as they had before charged him, on the King's behalfe, uprightlie to administer indifferent justice to the people, without corrupcion or affection, soe did he likewise charge them againe that if they sawe him at any time in any thinge to digresse from anie part of his dutie in that honourable Office, even as they would discharge their owne dutie and fidelitie to GOD and the Kinge, soe should they not faile to disclose it to his grace, who otherwise might have just occasion to laie his fault wholie to their charge.

XII. While he was Lord Chauncellor, beinge at leasure (as seldome he was) one of his sonnes in lawe on a time said merrilie unto him, When Cardinall *Wolsey* was Lord Chauncellor, not onlie they of his privie chamber, but also his doore keeper gat greate gaine under him: and seeinge he had married one of his daughters, and gave still attendance uppon him he thought he might of reason looke for some. Wheare he himselfe, because he was soe readie to heere everie man's cause, poore and riche, and keepe noe doores shut from them, could finde none; which was to him

a great discouragement. And whearas some for freindship, and some for kindred, and some for profit woulde gladlie have had his furtherance in bringinge them to his presence, yf he should now take anie thinge of them, he knewe, he saide, he should doe them great wronge, for that they might doe as muche for themselves as he could doe for them. Which condicion, thoughe he thought in Sir *Tho: Moore* verie commendable, yet to him, he saide, beinge his sonne he fownde it nothinge profitable. When he had towlde him this tale, you saie well sonne, quoth he, I do not mislike that you are of conscience soe scrupulous; but many other waies be theare, sonne, that I maie both doe you good, and pleasure your freind alsoe. For sometimes maie I by my worde stande your freind in steede, and sometimes maie I by my Letter helpe him; Or if he have a cause dependinge before me, at your request I maie heere him before another. Or if his cause be not all the best, yet maie I move the parties to fall to some end or arbitrement, Howbeit this one thinge, sonne, I assure thee on my faith, that if the parties will at my hands call for Justice, then weare it my Father stood on one side, and the divill on the other, his cause beinge good the divill should have right. Soe offer'd he his sonne as he thought, he said, soe much favour as he could with reason requier. And that he would in noe respect digresse from justice well appeered by a plaine example of another of his sonnes in lawe called Mr \* *Hearne*. For when he, havinge a matter before him in the Chancerye and presuminge too muche of his favour, would by him in noe wise be

\* *Herond*. He married Sir *Thomas's* 2d daughter *Cecilia*. On her picture in the Family Piece is written, *Cecilia Herond Thomæ Mori filia anno 20.*



be perswaded to agree to any indifferent order, then made he in conclusion a flatt decree against him.

XIII. This Lord Chauncellor used commonlie everie afternoone to sit in his open Hall to the intent that if any person had any suit unto him, they might the more boldlie come to his presence and then open their complaints before him. Whose manner was alsoe to reade everie bill himselfe, and before he would award any *Sub-pæna*, which being matter worthie of *Sub pæna* would set his hande to himselfe, or else cancell yt. Whensoever he passed through *Westminster-Hall* to his place in the Chauncery by the Court of the King's bench, yf his Father (beinge one of the Judges therof) had binne satt ere he came, he would goe into the same Court and theare reverentlie kneelinge downe in the sight of them all dulie aske his Father's blessinge. And if it fortun'd that his Father and he at Readings in *Lincolnes Inne* met together, (as they sometimes did) notwithstandinge his high Office he would offer in argument the Preeminence to his Father, though he for his office sake would refuse to take it. And for better declaracion of his naturall affection towards his Father, he not onelie, while he laye in his deathe bedd, accordinge to his dutie, oftentimes with comfortable wordes most kindlie came to visit him, but also at his departure out of this world with teares takeinge him about the necke most lovingelie kissed & embraced him, commendinge him into the hands of almightie GOD & soe departed from him. And as fewe Injunctions as he graunted while he was Lord Chauncellor, yet weare they by some of the Judges of the Lawe misliked; which I understandinge declared the same unto Sir *Tho: Moore*. Who answered mee that they should have little cause to find

finde fault with him therfore, and thearuppon caused he one Mr Crooke cheife of the fix Clearks to make a \* Dockett containge the whole number and causes of all suche injunctions as eyther in his time had allreadie passed, or at that present depended in anie of the King's Courts at *Westminster* before him. Which done he invited all the Judges to dine with him in the Counsaile Chamber at *Westminster* : wheare after dinner when he had broken with them what complaints he had heard of Injunctions, and moreover shewed them both the number and causes of everie one of them in order soe plainlie that uppon full debatinge of these matters they weare enforced to confesse that they, in like case, could have donne noe otherwise themselves, then offred he this unto them, That if the Justices of everie court unto whome the reformation of the rigor of the lawe, by reason of their office, most especially appertained, would uppon reasonable consideracions by their owne discretions, as they weare, as he thought, in conscience bound, mittigate and reforme the rigor of the Lawe themselves, theare should from henceforthe from him noe more Injuncions be graunted: Whearunto when they refused to condiscende, then said he unto them. Forasmuch as your selves, my Lords, drive me to that necessitie for awardinge out Injunctions to releive the peoples injurie, you cannot heer-after any more justlie blame me. After that he said secretlie to me: I perceave, sonne, why they like not soe to doe. For they see that they maie by the verdict of the Jurie cast of all quarrells from themselves on those, which they doe account their cheife defence, and therefore am I com-

\* A small piece of paper or parchment containing the effect of a larger writing. *Cowels* Law interpreter,

compelled to abide the adventure of all such reports.

XIV. And, as † little leasure as he had to be occupied in the studie of the holie Scripture, and controversies about Religion, and suche other virtuous exercises, beinge in a manner continuallie † busied about the affaires of the Kinge and the Realme; Yet such watche and paine in settinge forth of divers profitable workes in the defence of the true Christian Religion against Heresies secreatlie sowne abroad in the Realme assuredlie sustained he, that the Byshops (to whose Pastorall care the reformation thearof most principallie appertained) thinkinge themselves by his travaile (whearin by their owne confession they weare not able with him to make comparifon) of their duties in that behalfe dischargd; and consideringe that, for all his Princes favour, he was noe riche man, nor in yeerlie revenues advanced as his worthines deserved: Therfore at a Convocation amonge themselves and others of the Clergie they agreed together and concluded uppon a somme of 4 or 5 thowfand pounds, at the least, to my remembrance, for his paines to recompence him: To the paiment whearof everie Byshop, Abbot & the rest of the Clergie weare after the rate of their abillities liberall contributors, hopinge that this portion should be to his contentation. Whearuppon Doctor *Tonstale* of *Durham*, *Clarke* byshop of *Bathe*, and, as farre  
 \* Voysey as I can call to minde, \* *Vasty* byshop of *Exceter*, repaired unto him, declaringe how muche thankful they weare for his traivales to their discharge  
 in

† *Thomas Morus* eques auratus, moribus et ingenio candidissimus, neque minori præstans eruditione, tametsi negotijs Regis et Regni gravissimis occupatissimus sit. *Rossensis* dedicatio præfixa libro ad ver. *Oecolampad.*



in GOD's cause bestowed, for which they reckoned themselves bounden to consider him. And that albeit they could not to his deserts soe worthe as they would requite him therefore, but must referre that onlie to the goodnes of GOD; yet for a small part of recompence in respect of his estate, so unequall to his worthines, in the name of their Convocation they presented unto him that somme, which they desired him to take in good part. Who, † forsakinge it, saide; that like as it was no small comfort unto him that soe wise and learned men soe well accepted his simple dooings, for which he never intended to receive reward but at the hands of GOD onlie to whome was the thanke thearof cheiflie to be ascribed: soe gave he most humble thankes unto their Honors all for their soe bountifull and freindlie consideracion. When they, for all their importunate pressinge uppon him (that fewe would have thought he could have refused) could by noe meanes make him to take it, then besought they him that he would yet be contented that they might bestowe it on his wife and children. Not soe, my Lords, quoth he, I had rather see it cast in the *Thames* then either I or  
anie

† I will not saye naye but that some good and honorable men of theym [the clergy] woulde in rewarde of my goode will and my laboure against these heretickes, have given me much more than ever I did or could deserve: But I dare take GOD and theym also to recorde that all they could never see me with one peny thereof, but, as I plainly told them, *I would rather have caste theyr money into the Temys than take it.* For albeit they were, as indeed there were, both good men and honourable, yet looke I for my thanke of GOD that is theyr better, and for whose sake I take the labour & not for theirs — I am both over proude, & over slouthful also to be hyred for money to take halfe the labour & business in writing that I have taken in this geare since I began. *Mores English Works*, p. 867. col. 1, 2.

anie of mine should have thearof the worthe of a pennie. For altho' your offer, my Lords, be indeede very friendlie and honourable, yet set I foe little by my profit, and foe muche by my pleasure, that I would not, in goode faith, have lost the watching of foe manie nights for muche more then your liberall offer. And yet wishe would I for all that, upon condicion that all Heresies weare suppressed, that all my bookes weare burned, and my labour lost. Thus departing weare they faine to restore to everie man his own againe.

XV. This Lord Chauncellor, albeit he was to GOD and the World well knowne to be a man of noble Virtue, though not foe of everie man considered, yet, for the avoidinge of singularitie, would he appeere like other men in his apparrell and outward behaviour. And albeit he appcered outwardlie honourable like one of his callinge, yet inwardlie he not suche vanities esteemed, [but] secretlie next his bodie ware a † shirte of heare.

\* Anna Which my sifter \* *More*, a younge Gentlewoman, Crisacia in the summer as he sat at supper single in his Joannis doublet and hose, wearinge thearuppon a plaine Mori sponsa anno 15. shirt, without either ruffe or collar, chancinge to † Mar- espie, beganne to laugh at it. My † wife, not ignorant of his manner, perceavinge the same, pri- gara Ro- vilie towld him of it, and he beinge sorrie that pera Tho- she sawe presentlie amended it. He alsoe some- mæ Mori times used to punish his bodie with whippes, the filia anno. cordes knotted, which was knowen onelie to my 22. wife,

† She, the Lady *Margaret*, had her shertes and gyrdyls of heere, which, when she was in helthe, everi weke she sayled not certayn days to weare, sometyme the one, sometyme the other, that full often her skynne, as I heard her say, was perced therewith. Bp. *Fisher's* Sermon, &c. p. 11.

Sic addictus pietati ut si in alterutram partem aliquantum inclinet momentum, superstitioni quam impietati vicinior esse videatur. *Erasmii* Epist.

wife, his eldest daughter, whome, for her \* secrecie, above all other he speciallie trusted, causinge her, as neede required, to washe the same shirt of heare.

XVI. Now shortlie [after his] entringe into his high Office of Chauncellorship the Kinge againe moved him to waie and consider his great matter. Who fallinge downe on his knees, humbly besought his Majestie to stande his gracious soveraigne Lord, as ever since his entrie into his gracious service he had fownde him, saieinge, theare was nothinge in the world had binne soe grievous unto his heart, as to remember that he was not able, as he willinglie would with the losse of one of his limmes, for that matter anie thinge to finde whearbie he could with his conscience safelie serve his great contentation, as he that alwaies bare in minde the most godlie wordes that his highnes spake unto him at his first entrie into his noble service, the most virtuous lesson that ever prince taught his servant: Willinge him first to looke unto God, and after God unto Him: as in good faith, he said, he did, or els might his grace well account him for his most unworthie servant. To this the Kinge aunswared, that if he could not with his conscience thearin serve him, he was content to accept his service otherwise, and use the advise of other of his learned counsaile whose conscience would well enough agree therwith: would nevertheles continue his gracious favour towards him, and never with that matter molest his conscience afterward. But Sir Thomas Moore in proceffe of time seeinge the Kinge fullie determined to proceede forthe in the marriage of Queen Anne; and when he with the byshops

See Sir Thomas's Letter to Mr. secretary Cromwel, at the end.

\* *Margareta Ropera Britanniae tuae decus. Erasmi epist.*



shops and nobles of the higher house of parliament weare, for the furtherance of that marriage, commaunded by the Kinge to go downe unto the common House to shewe unto them bothe what the Universities, as well of other parts beyond the seas as of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, had donne in that behalfe, and their seales also testifieing the same, all which matters, at the King's request, not shewing of what minde himselfe was thearin, he opened to the lower house of the parliament. Nevertheles, doubtinge leaste further attempts after should followe, which contrarie to his conscience, by reason of his Office, he was likelic to be put unto, he made suite unto the Duke of *Norfolke*, his singular good friend, to be a meane to the Kinge that he might, with his Grace's favour, be dischargd of that chardgeable roome of the Chauncellorship, whearin, for certain † infirmities of his bodie, he pretended himselfe unable anie longer to serve.

XVII. This Duke, comminge on a time to *Chelsey* to dine with him, fortun'd to finde him in the Church, in the Quier, with a surplis on his backe, singinge. To whome, after service, as they went home-ward arme in arme, the Duke saide, God's bodie, God's bodie, my Lord Chauncellor, what a parishe Clearke, a parishe Clearke! You dishonour the Kinge, and his Office. Naie, quoth

† ——— this disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my breast that I have used in writing. Letter to *Cromwel.*

Pectus mihi occupavit rescio quid merli cujus non tam sensu et dolore crucior, quam eventus metu ac timore sollicitor ——— Quamobrem, ut et publicis rebus pariter et meæ salutis consulere, a clarissimi principis et Optimi benignitate suppliciter impetravi at magistratu isto ——— dignaretur ejus pietas exonerare.

*Mori Episto: Erasmo.*

quoth Sir *Thomas Moore*, smilinge on the Duke,  
Your grace maie not thinke that the Kinge,  
your Master and mine, will with me for servinge  
GOD his Master be offended, or thearbie account  
his Office dishonoured.

XVIII. When the Duke, beinge thearunto  
often sollicitated, by importunate suite had at  
length of the Kinge obtained for Sir *Tho. Moore* See Sir  
a cleere dischardge of his Office, then, at a time *Thomas's*  
convenient by his Highnes appointment, repair- Letter to  
ed he to his grace to yeeld up to him the Mr Secre-  
greate seale. Which, as his grace with thanks tary *Crom-*  
and praise for his worthie service in that Of- well at the  
fice, at his handes courteoullie receaved, soe it end.  
pleased his Highnes farther to saie unto him,  
that for the service which he before had donne  
him, in any suite which he should after have un-  
to him, that should either concerne his honour  
(for that worde it pleased his Highnes to use  
unto him) or that should appertaine unto his  
profit, he should finde his Highnes [a] good  
and gracious Lord unto him. \* After he had  
thus given over the Chauncellorship, and plac-  
ced all his gentlemen and yeomen with Noble-  
men and Byshops, and his 8 Watermen with  
the Lord *Audley* that in the same Office suc-  
ceeded him, to whome alsoe he gave his great  
bardge ; † then callinge us all that weare his  
E chil-

\* ——— Supra quam meus pudor pati potest ut recenseam,  
per os ducis illustrissimi, ducis, inquam, *Nolsolchia* magni  
Thesaurarij *Angliae*, quum successor meus, homo imprimis  
egregius, collocaretur in loco, honorifice jussit, Rex, de me  
testatum reddere quod *agre ad preces meas me dimisit*

*Mori epist. Erasmo.*

† His Foole he bestowed him on the Lord Mayor during his *Henry Pa-*  
Office, and afterwards on his Successors in that charge *tinson.*

Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII.

\* New-  
Inne.

children to him, and askinge our advise how we might now in this decay of his abilitie, by the surrender of his Office see impaired that he could not, as he was wont and gladly would, beare out the whole chardges of them all himselfe, thenceforthe be able to live and continew together, as he wished we should; When he sawe us silent, and in that case not readie to shewe our opinions unto him, then will I, saide he, shewe my poore minde to you. I have binne brought up, quoth he, at *Oxford*, at an \* Inne of the Chauncery, at *Lincolne's* Inne, and alsoe in the King's Court, and so from the least degree to the highest, and yet have I in yeerlie revenues at this present least me a little above a hundred powndes by the yeere. Soe that now must we heerafter, if we like to live together, be contented to become contributors together. But by my counsaile it shall not be best for us to fall to the lowest fare first; We will not therefore descend to *Oxford-fare*, nor to the fare of *New-Inne*; but wee will beginne with *Lincolne's-Inn* diet, wheare manie Right Worshipfulls and of good yeeres doe live full well together. Which, if we finde not our selves able to maintaine the first yeere, then will we the next yeere goe one step downe to *New-Inne* fare, whearwith many an honest man is well contented. If that exceed our abilitie too then we will the next yeare after descend to *Oxford-fare*, wheare many grave, learned and auntient fathers be continuallie conversant. Which if our power stretche not to mainteine neither, then maie wee yet with baggs and wallets goe a begginge together, and, hopinge that for pittie some good folkes will give us their charitie, at everie man's dore to singe

\* *Salve*



\* *Salve Regina*, and soe still keepe companie and be merrie together. † And whearas you have heard before he was by the Kinge from a verie worshipfull livinge taken into his service, with whome in all the great and weightie causes that concerned his highnes or the Realme he consumed and spent with painful cares, travailes and troubles, as well beyond the Seas as within the Realme; in effect, the whole substance of his Life, yet with all the gaine he got thearby, beinge never wastfull spender thearof, he was not able, after the resignacion of his office of the Lord Chauncellour, for the maintenance of himselfe and suche as necessarilie belonged unto him, sufficientlie to finde meat, drinke, Jewell and apparrell and such other necessarie chardges. \* All

E 2

the

\* Tyndall forbiddeth folk to pray to the Virgin Mary and specially misliketh her devout Anthem *Salve Regina*

More's English Works, p. 488. col. 2.

† These Jestes were thought to have in them more levity than to be taken every where for current. He might have quitte his Dignity without using such Sarcasms, and haken himself to a more retired and quiet life without making them, [his familie] or himself contemptible. And certainly, whatsoever he intended hereby, his Family so little understood his meaning that they needed some more serious instructions. So that I cannot perswade myself, for all this talke, that so excellent a person would omit, at fit times, to give his Family that sober account of his relinquishing this place which, I find, he did to the Archbp. Warham, Erasmus, and others.

Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 344.

\* As for al the landes and fees that I have in England, besyde such lands and fees as I have of the gyfte of the Kinge's most noble Grace, is not at this day, nor shal be whyle my Mother in lawe liveth (whose life and health I pray GOD long keepe & continue) worth yeerlie to my livinge the summe of fufstie ponde.

More's English Works, p. 866. col. 2.

Animus est a sordido lucro alienissimus. — cum advocacionibus, adhuc aletur nulli non dedit amicum verumque consilium, magis illorum communis disprospiciens quam suis.

Erasmii Epist

Lord Herbert's  
Life of King  
Hen. VIII.  
+ serious,  
grave.

the land that ever he purchased (which also he purchased before he was Lord Chauncellor) was not, I am well assured, above the valewe of 20 Markes by the Yeere: and, after his debts paid, he had not, I knowe, (his chaine excepted) in gould and silver leaft him the worthe of one hundred pownds. And whearas uppon the holie daies, duringe his high Chauncellorship, one of his gentlemen, when service at the Church was donne, ordinarilie used to come to my Ladie his wives pue dore, and saie unto her, Madam, My Lord is gone; the next holidiaie after the surrender of his Office and departuer of his gentlemen from him, he came unto my Ladie his wife's pewe himselfe, and makinge a lowe courtesie, said unto her, Madam, My Lord is gone. [But she, thinking this at first to be but one of his Jestes, was little moved, till he told he † sadly he had given up the Great Seale. Whearuppon \* she speaking some passionate words, he called his daughters then present to see if they could not spy some fault about their Mother's dressing; but they, after search, saying they could find none: hee replied, doe you not perceive that your mother's nose standeth somewhat awry? Of which jeere the provoked Lady was so sensible that she went from him in a rage.]

XIX. In the time somewhat before his trouble he would talke unto his wife and children of the joies of heaven and paines of hell, of the lives of holie martirs, of their greivous martirdomes, of their marveilous patience, and of their passions and deathes that they suffred rather then they

\* Viduam duxit ——— nec bellam admodum nec puellam, sed a rem ac vigilantem matrem familias arimi minime mollis, postremo ad rem attentissima. *Erasmi Epist.*

they would offend GOD, and what a happie and blessed thinge it was for the love of GOD to suffer the losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of lands, and life also. He would farther saie unto them, that uppon his faithe, if he might perceave his wife and children would incourage him to die in a good cause yt should soe comforte him that for \* everie joye thearof it would make \* verie. him merrilie runne to death. He shewed to them before what trouble might after fall unto him; whearwith and the like virtuous talke he had soe longe before his trouble incouraged them, that when he after fell into trouble indeed, his trouble was to them a greate deale the lesse.

*Quia spicula praevisa minus ledunt*

XX. Now uppon this resignement of his Office, came Mr. *Thomas Cromwell*, then in the King's favour, to *Chelsey* to him with a message from the Kinge. Whearin when they had throughlie commoned together, Mr. *Cromwell*, quoth he, you are now entred into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal Prince; if you will followe my poore advise, you shall, in your counsaile givinge to his grace, ever tell him what he ought to doe, but never what he is able to doe. Soe shall you shewe youre selfe a true faithfull servant, and a right worthie councellor. For if a Lion knewe his owne strength, hard weare it for any man to rule him.

XXI. Shortly thearuppon was theare a Commission directed to *Craumer*, then Archbyshop of *Canterbury* to determine the matter of the Matrimony betweene the Kinge and Queen *Katharine* at *St. Albane's*, wheare accordinge to the King's minde it was throughlie determined. Who, pretendinge, because he could get noe justice at the



\* On St.  
Erken-  
wald's  
day or  
April 30  
1532 Hall  
St. Paul  
or Jan. 25  
G. Wyatt,  
Esq;

Pope's hand, from thenceforth would sequester himselfe from the Sea of Roome, and soe \* married the Lady *Anne Bullen*. Which Sir Tho: Moore understandinge saide unto me, GOD give grace, sonne, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with Oathes. I, at that time, seeinge noe likelihood thearof, yet fearinge least for his soore speakinge yt would the sooner come to passe, waxed therfore for his soe sayinge muche offended with him.

+ May 31.  
1533.

XXII. Yt fortunied not longe before the † cominge of Queen *Anne* through the streetes of *London* from the Tower to *Westminster* to her coronacion, that he receaved a letter from the Bishops of *Durrham*, *Bathe*, and *Winchester*, requestinge him bothe to keepe them companie from the Tower to the Coronacion, and alsoe to take twentie pownds that by the bearer thearof they had sent him to buie him a gowne withall: which he thankfullie receavinge, at home still tarryelinge, and at their next meetinge said merrilie unto them; My Lords, in the letters which you latelie sent me you required two thinges of me: the one like I was soe well content to graunt you, the other thearof I thought I might be the bolder to deny you. And like as the one, because I tooke you for noe beggers, & my selfe I knowe to be noe riche man, I thought I might the rather fullfill, soe the other did put me in remembrance of an Emperor who ordained a lawe that whosoever had committed a certaine heinous offence, which I now remember not, except it weare a Virgin, should suffer the paines of deathe (suche a reverence had he to Virginitie.) Nowe after it happened that the first committer of that offence was indeed a Virgin, whearof the Emperor hearinge was in noe small perplex-  
itic

itic, as he that by some example would faine have had that lawe put in execution. Whear-uppon when his Councell had sit longe, solemnlie debatinge this cause, suddenie rose thea e up one of his counsaile, a goode plaine man amongst them, and saide, Why make you so muche adoe, my Lords, about soe small a matter? let her be first deflowred, and thearafter may she be devoured. And soe though your Lordships have in the matter of the matrimonie, hitherto kept your selves pure virgins, yet take good heede, my Lords, that you keepe your virginie still. For some theare be that by procuringe your Lordships first at the Coronacion to be present, and nexte to preache for the settinge forth of it, and finallie to write bookes to all the world in defence thearof are desirous to deflowre you, and when they have deflowred you, then will they not faile soone after to devowre you. Now, my Lords, quoth he, it lyethe not in my power but that they may devowre me, but GOD beinge my good Lorde I will soe provide that they shall never deflowre me.

XXIII. In continuance, when the Kinge sawe that he could by noe meanes winne him to his side by any benefitt whatsoever, then he went he about by terror and threats to drive him thearunto. The beginnunge of which trouble grewe by occasion of a certaine Nonne dwellinge in \* *Canterburie* for her † virtue and holines of life

E 4

amonge

\* in the Nunnery of St *Sepulchres* a little to the Southward of St. *Austins* Abby.

† ——— of a truth I had a great good opinion of her, & had her in great estimation as you shall perceive by the Letter I wrote unto her. ——— in searching to find out the truth, as your self hath done, very prudently in this Matter, you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise a very meritorious

amonge the people not a little esteemed : unto whome, for that cause, many religious persons, Doctours of Divinitie, and divers others of good worshipp of the layetie used to resort. Who affirminge that she had revelations from GOD, to give the Kinge warninge of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the sword and authoritie committed to him by GOD, and understandyng my Lord of *Rockester*, Byshop *Fisher*, to be a man of notable virtuous livinge and learninge, repaired to *Rockester* and theare declared unto him all her revelations desiringe his counsell thearin. Whiche the Byshop perceavinge might well stande with the lawes of GOD and his holie Church advised her (as she had before warninge and intended) to goe to the Kinge herselfe, and to let him knowe and understande the whole circumstance thearof. Whearuppon she went to the Kinge and towld him all her revelations, and soe returned home againe. And in short space after she makinge a journey to the Monks of *Sion*, by meanes of Mr. *Raynolds* Father of the same house, theare fortunied, concearninge suche secrets as had binne revealed unto her, (some part whearof seemed to touche the matter of the King's Supremacie and marriage which shortlie thearuppon followed) to enter into talke with Sir *Thomas Moore*. Who, notwithstandinge he might well at that time without daunger of any lawe (though after, as himselfe had prognosticated before, those matters weare established by statutes and confirmed by oathe) freelie and fullie have talked with her thearin, nevertheles in all the communication  
between

meritorious deed in bringing forth to light such detestable Hypocrisy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of GOD. Sir *Thomas More's* Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*.



between them (as in proces it appeered) had alwaies foe discreetlie demeaned himselte, that he deserved not to be blamed, but contrariwise to be commended and praised. And had he not binne one that in all his great Offices for the Kinge & the Realme foe manye yeeres together had from all † corruption or bribes takinge kept himselte foe cleere that noe man was able thearwith once to blame or blemishe him, or make any just quarrell against him, it would without doubt in this troblous time of the Kinge's indignacion towards him have binne deeplie laide to his chardge, & of the King's highnes most favourablie accepted.

XXIV. As in the case of one *Parnell* it most manifestlie appeered (against whome Sir *Tho: Moore* while he was Lord Chauncellor, at the suite of one *Vaughan* his adversarie, had made a decree) who accused him that he had of the same *Vaughan*, unable to travaile abroad himselte for the gowte, by the hands of his wife takin a faire great gilded cupp for a bribe. Who thearuppon, by the Kinge's appointment, being called before the whole counsaile, Wheare the matter was hainousslie laide to his chardge, foorthwith confessed that forsomuche as that cuppe was, longe after the foresaide decree, brought him for a New Yeeres guift, he, uppon the importune pressinge uppon him thearof, of courtesie refused not to take it. Then the \* Lord of *Wiltshire*, for hatred of his religion \* *Queen Anne's Father.* prefferer of this suite, with much rejoycinge said unto the Lordes; Loe, did I not tell you, my Lords! that you should finde this matter true? Whearuppon Sir *Tho: Moore* desired their Lordships

† ——— expectavi jam syndici tempus a gesto ac deposito Magistratu; nec adhuc quisquam prodiit qui de mea integritate quereretur. *Mori epist. Erasmo.*

shippes that as they had heard him courtesouffie tell the one part of his tale, soe that they would vouchsafe of their honors indifferently to heere the other. After which obtained, he farther declared unto them, that albeit he had indeed with muche worke received that cupp, yet immediatelie there-uppon caused [he] his butler to fill it with wine, and of that cup drank to her; and that when he had soe donne and she pledged, then as freelis gave he the same againe to her to give unto her husband for his new years gift: which, at his instant request, though muche against her will, at length yet she was faine to receive, as her selfe and certaine other theare present before them deposed. Thus was the great mountaine turned scarce to a little mole-hill.

XXV. Soe I remember that at another time uppon a New years daye theare came unto him one Mistris Croker a widdowe, for whome with noe small paine hee had made a decree in the Chancerie against the Lord of *Arundell*, to present him with a paire of gloves and 40 Pounds in angells in them for a New yeers guift. Of whome he thankfullie receaved the gloves; but refusinge the mony faide unto her, Mistris, since it weare against good manners to forsake a gentlewoman's Newe yeere's guift, I am content to take your gloves, but as for your monie I utterlie refuse. Soe, muche against her minde, enforced he her to take her gold againe. And one Mr. *Gresham* likewise at the same time, havinge a cause dependinge in the Chauncery before him, sent him for a Newe yeere's guift a faire gilded Cuppe, the fashion whereof he very well likinge caused one of his owne, though not in his fancie of soe good a fashion yet better in valewe, to be brought him out of his chamber, which he  
willed

willed the messenger, in recompence, to deliver unto his Master, and under other condicion would he in noe wise receive yt. Many thinges moe of like effect for declaracion of his innocencye and cleernes from all corruption or evill affection could I heere reherse besides, which for tediousnes omittinge I referre to the readers by these fewe fore-remembred examples with their owne judgements wiselie to consider the same.

XXV. At the Parliament followinge was theare put into the Lords house a bill to attaint the the Nonn, and divers other religious persons of highe treason, and the Byshop of *Rockester* and Sir *Thomas Moore* and certaine others of misprision of treason: the Kinge presuppofing of likelihood that this bill would be to Sir *Thomas Moore* foe troublous that it would force him to relent and condiscend to his request: whearin his grace was muche deceived. To which bill Sir *Tho: Moore* was a suter personallie to be received in his owne defense to make answeare. But the Kinge not likinge that assigned the Byshop of *Canterburie*, the Lord Chauncellor, the Duke of *Northfolke* and Mr. *Cromwell* to a daie and place appointed to call Sir *Thomas Moore* before them. At which time I, thinkinge that I had a good and fit opportunitee, earnestlie advised him to labour to those Lords for the helpe of his discharge out of the Parliament bill. Who answered me he would. And at his comminge before them, accordinge to their appointment, they entertained him verie friendlie, willinge him to set downe with them, which in noe wise he would. Then began the Lord Chauncellor to declare unto him how manie waies the Kinge had shewed his love and favour towards him; how faine he would have had him to continew in his Office;



Office; how glad he would have binne to have heaped more benefits uppon him; and finallie how he could aske noe worldlie honour nor profite at his Highnes handes that weare likelie to bee denyed him; hopinge by declaracion of the King's kindnes and affection towards him to provoke him to recompence his grace with the like againe, and unto those things which the Parliament, the Byshops, and the Universities had alreadie passed to ad his consent. To this *Sir Thomas Moore* mildlie made answer saieinge;

'Noe man livinge is theare, My Lords, that  
 'would with better will do the thinge that should  
 'be acceptable to the King's Highnes then I  
 'which must needes confesse his manifold good-  
 'nes, and bountifull benefites most liberallie be-  
 'stowed on me. Howbeit, I verilie hoped I  
 'should never have heard of this matter more,  
 'consideringe that I have from time to time al-  
 'waie from the beginninge soe plainlie and trulie  
 'declared my minde unto his grace, which his  
 'highnes ever seemed to me, like a most gracious  
 'Prince, verie well to accept, never mindinge, as  
 'he saide, to molest me more thearwith Since  
 'which time anie further thinge that was able  
 'to move me to anie chaunge could I never finde:  
 'And if I could theare is none in all the worlde  
 'that would have binne gladder of it then I.  
 Manie things more weare theare of like sort ut-  
 tered on bothe sides. But in the end when they  
 sawe they could by no manner of perswasions re-  
 move him from his former determination, then  
 began they more terribly to touch him, tellinge  
 him that the King's Highnes had given in com-  
 mandement yf they could by no gentlenes winne  
 him, in his name with his great ingratitude to  
 chardge him: that never was theare servant to  
 his Sovereigne soe villainous, nor subject to his  
 Prince

Prince soe traiterous as he. For he by subtle  
 sinister flightes most unnaturally procuringe and  
 provoakinge him to sett forth a booke of the  
 \* assertion of the seaven Sacraments and main-  
 tenance of the Pope's authority, had caused him,  
 to his dishonor throughout all Christendome, to  
 put a sworde in the Pope's hand to fight against  
 himself. When they had thus laied foorth all  
 the terrors they could imagine against him. ' My  
 Lords, quoth he, these terrors be arguments for  
 ' children & not for me. But to answere to  
 ' that whearwith you doe cheeflie burden me;  
 ' I beleive the King's Highnes of his honour  
 ' will never lay that to my chardge, for none is  
 ' theare that can in that point saie in my excuse  
 ' more then his Highnes himselfe: Who right  
 ' well knoweth that I was never procurer nor  
 ' counsaile of his Majestie thearunto, but after  
 ' it was finished, by his Graces appointment and  
 ' consent of the \* makers of the same, I was on-  
 ' lie a forter out and placer of the principall  
 ' matters thearin contained. Whearin when I  
 ' fownde the Pope's authoritie highlie advanced,  
 ' and with strong arguments mightily defended,  
 ' I said unto his grace; I must put your highnes  
 ' in remembrance of one thinge, and that is this.  
 ' The Pope, as your grace knoweth, is a Prince  
 ' as you are, and in league with all other Chri-  
 ' stian Princes: Yt maie soe heerafter fall out  
 ' that your grace and he maie vary uppon some  
 ' points of leagues, whearuppon maie growe  
 ' breach of amitie and warre betweene you bothe:  
 ' I thinke it best therfore that that place be a-  
 ' mended, and his authoritie more slenderlie  
 ' touched. ' Nay, quoth his grace, that shall it  
 ' not;'

\* Fisher  
 Bp. of Ro-  
 chester &  
 Lee after  
 A. Bp. of  
 York, as  
 the report  
 was.  
 See Sir  
 Thomas's  
 Letter at  
 the end

\* Assertio vii Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Luther-  
 um, edita ab invictissimo Anglia & Francia Rege, et Domino  
 Hybernix Henrico ejus nominis octavo in ædibus Pynsenianis  
 apud inclytam urbem Londinum, 1521.

'not;' We are soe muche bounden to the Sea  
 'of Roome that we cannot doe too muche honour  
 'to it.' Then did I farther put him in remem-  
 'brance of the Statute of *Premunire*, whearby a  
 'good part of the Pope's pastorall cure heere was  
 'pared awaie. To that aunswared his highnes,  
 'whatsoever impediment be to the contrarie, we  
 'will set forth the that authoritie to the uttermost,  
 'for we receave from that Sea our crowne Im-  
 'periall;' which I never heard of before till his  
 'grace towld it me with his owne mouthe. Soe  
 'that I trust when his grace shall be once trulie  
 'informed of this, and call to his gracious re-  
 'membrance my doings in that behalfe, his  
 'highnes will never speake of it more, but cleere  
 'me therein throughlie himselfe.' And thus dis-  
 'pleasantlie departed they. Then tooke Sir *Thos.*  
*Moore* his boate towards his house at *Chelsea*,  
 whearin by the waie he was verie merrie, and for  
 that I was nothinge sorry, hoping that he had  
 gotten himselfe dischargdged out of the Parliament  
 bill. When he was landed and come home, then  
 walked we twaine alone in his garden together:  
 wheare I desirous to knowe how he had sped,  
 saide, I truste, Sir, that all is well because that you  
 be soe merry. Yt is soe indeed, sonne *Rooper*,  
 I thanke GOD, quoth he. Are you then put out  
 of the Parliament bill quoth I? By my trothe,  
 sonne *Rooper*, quoth he, I never remembred it.  
 Never remembred it! saide I, a cause that touch-  
 ethe your selfe soo neare, and us all for your sake, I  
 am sorry to heere it; For I verilie trusted, when  
 I sawe you soe merrie, that all had binne well.  
 Then saide he, wilt thou knowe, sonne *Rooper*, why  
 I was soe merry? That would I gladlie, Sir, saide  
 I. In good faithe I rejoyced, sonne, saide hee,  
 that I had given the Divell a fowle fall, and that  
 with those Lords I had gone soe farre as without  
 greate



greate shame I could never goe backe againe. At which wordes waxed I very sad; for though himfelfe liked it well, yet liked it me but a little.

XXVI. Now upon the report made by the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes to the Kinge of all their whole discourse had with Sir Tho: Moore, the King was soe highlie offended with him, that he plainlie told them he was fullie determined that the foresaid Parliament bill should undoubtedlie proceede againste him. To whome the Lord Chauncellor and the rest of the Lordes saide, that they perceaved the Lords of the upper house soe preciselie bent to heere him, in his owne defence, make answere himfelfe; that if he weare not put out of the bill, it would, without faile, be utterlie an overthrowe of all. But for all this, needes would the Kinge have his owne will thearin, or else, he saide, that at the passinge therof he would be personallie present himfelfe. Then the Lord Audley and the rest seeinge him soe vehementlie set theareupon, on their knees, they most humble besought his grace to forbear the same, consideringe that if he should in his owne presence receive an overthrowe, it would not onlie encourage his subjects ever after to contemne him, but alsoe through all Christendome redounde to his dishonour for ever: Addinge thearunto that they mistrusted not in time against him to finde some meet matter to serve his turne better; for in this cause of the Nonne he was accounted, (they saide) soe innocent and cleere, that for his dealinge thearin, men reckoned him farre worthier of praise then of reproofe. Whearupon, at length, through their earnest perswasion, he was content to condescend to their petition; and on the morrow after Mr. Cromwell meetinge me in the Parliament house willed

See Sir Thomas's Letter to Cromwell at the end.

willed me to tell my Father that he was put out of the Parliament bill. But because I had appointed to dine that daie in *London*, I sent the message by my servant to my wife to *Chelsey*. Wherof when she informed her father, In faith, *Megg*, quoth he, *Quod differtur non aufertur*.

XXVII. After this, as the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Sir *Tho: Moore* chanced to fall in familiar talke together, the Duke saide unto him, by the Masse, Mr. *Moore*, it is perilous strivinge with Princes, therefore I would wishe you somewhat to encline to the King's pleasure. For by GOD's bodie, Mr. *Moore*, *Indignatio Principis Mors est*. Is that all my Lord, quoth he? then in good faith the difference betweene your grace and me is but this, That I shall die to daie and you to morrow.

XXVIII. Soe fell it out, within a monethe, or thereabout, after the makinge of the Statute for the Oath of the Supremacie and Matrimony, that all the Priests of *London* and *Westminster*, and noe temporall men but he, weare sent for to appeere at *Lambeth* before the Byshop of *Canterburie*, the Lord Chauncellor and Secretary *Cromwell*, Commissioners appointed theare to tender the \* Oath unto them. Then Sir *Tho: Moore*, as  
his

\* This Oath for maintaining the Succession was, it seems, required to be taken by all men and women thro'-out the Realme. Mr Justice *Rastell* observes that Mrs. *Margaret Rooper* took it with this exception, as farre as woulde stande with the Lawe of GOD. And its said of *Harry Patenson* Sir *Thomas's* quondam Fool, that meeting one day one of Mr *Roopers* servants he asked where Sir *Thomas* was, and being told he was still in the Towre he grewe very angry & said, Why what eyleth him that he will not sweare? Wherefore should he sticke to swere? I have sworne the Oathe my self.

*More's English Works.*

accustomed manner alwaies was ere he entred into any matter of importance, (as when he was first chosen of the privie Councell, when he was sent Embassador, appointed Speaker of the Parliament howse, made Lord Chancellor, or when he took any other like weightie matter upon him) to goe to Church to be confessed, to heere Masse, and be houseled, soe did he likewise in the morninge earlie the selfe same daie that he was summoned to appeere before the Lords at *Lambethe*. And whearas he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children; whom he tenderlie loved, to have them bringe him to his boate, and theare to kisse them, and bid them all farewell, then would he suffer none of them forth the gate to followe him, but pulled the Wickett after him, and shutt them all from him: and with a heavie heart, as by his countenance it appeered, with me and our fowre servants theare tooke boate towards *Lambethe*. Whearin sittinge still sadlie a while, at the last he suddenie rownded me in the care and faide; sonne *Roper*, I thanke our Lord the feild is wonne. What he ment thearbie I then wist not, yet loathe to seeme ignorant I answered; Sir I am therefore verye glad. But, as I conjectured afterward, it was for that the love hee had to GOD wrought in him soe effectuallie that he conquered all his carnall affection utterlie. Now at his comminge to *Lambethe*, April 13, 1534. how wiselie he behaved himselfe before the Commissioners at the ministracion of the othe unto him, maie be fownde in certaine Letters of his See at the sent to my wife remaininge in a \* great booke end N°. of IX.

\* The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knight sometime Lord Chancellor of *England*, wrytten by him in the English tongue.

Printed at *London* at the costs and charges of *John Cawood*,  
*John Waly & Richard Tottell*

Fynished in *Apryll* the yere of our Lorde God 1557.

Tottell



of his Workes. Wheare by the space of 4 daies he was betaken to the custodie of the Abbot of *Westminster*, duringe which time the Kinge consulted with his counsaile what order weare meet to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginninge they weare resolved that with an Oathe, not to be acknowne, whither he had to the supremacie binne sworne, Or what he thought thearof he should be dischardged: Yet did *Queen Anne* by her importunate clamour soe fore exasperated the Kinge, against him, that, contrarie to his former resolucion, He caused the saide Oathe of the \* Supremacie to be ministred unto him. Who albeit he made a discreet quallified answere, nevertheles was forthwith committed to the Tower.

\* Succession.

XXIX. Whome as he was goinge thitheward wearinge, as he commonlie did, a † chaine of gold about his necke, *Sir Richard Cromwell*, that had the chardge of his conveighance thither, advised him to sende home his chaine to his wife or to some of his children. 'Naie, Sir, quoth he, that I will not: for if I weare taken in the feild by my ennimies I would they should some what fare the better for me.' At whose landinge Mr. Lieutenant was readie at the Tower gate to receive him, wheare the Porter demanded of him his upper garment. Mr. Porter, quoth he, heere it is, and tooke of his capp and delivered to him, saieinge, I am very sorry it is noe better for thee. Noe, Sir, quoth the Porter, I must have your gowne. And soe was he by Mr. Lieutenant conveyed to his lodginge, wheare he called unto him *John a Wood* his owne servant theare appointed

† Cultu simplici delectatus, nec sericis, purpurave aut ceteris aureis utitur, nisi cum inegrium non est ponere. *Erasmi epist.*

pointed to attend him, who could neither write nor reade, and fware him before the Lieutenant, that if he should heere or see him at any time speake or write any matter against the Kinge, Counsaile or the State of the Realme, he should open it to the Lieutenant, that the Lieutenant might incontinent reveale it to the Councell.

XXX. Now when he had remained in the Tower little more then a Moneth, my wife, longing to see her father, by her earnest suite at length got leave to goe unto him. At whose comminge after the 7 Psalms and lettany saide, (which whensoever she came unto him, ere he fell in talke of anie worldlie matter, he used accustomedly to say with her) amonge other comunicacion he said unto her: ' I beleive, *Megge*, ' that they that have put me heere \* weene they \* ~~that~~ ' have donne me a highe displeasure; but I assure thee on my faithe, mine owne good daughter, if it had not beene for my wife and yee ' that be my children I would not have faile ' long ere this, to have closed my selfe in as ' streight a roome and streighter too. But since ' I am come hither without myne owne desert, ' I trust that GOD of his goodnesse will ' dischardge me of my care, and with his gracious helpe supplie my lacke amonge you. I ' finde noe cause, I thanke GOD *Megg*, to re- ' kon my selfe in worse case heere then at home, ' for meeethinkethe GOD makethe me a wanton, ' and setteth me on his lapp and dandlethe me.' Thus by his gracious demeanor in tribulation appeared it that all the trouble that ever chaunced unto him weare to him noe painfull punishments by his patient sufferance thearof, but of his patience profitable exercises. And at another time, when he had first questioned with my wife a

while of the order of his wife, children and state of his house in his absence, he asked her how Queen *Anne* did? in faith, Father, quoth she, never better. Never better *Megg*! quoth he Ah las! *Megge*, alas! it pittieeth me to remember into what miserie she shall shortlie come.

XXXI. After this Mr. Lieutenant, comming into his chamber to visit him, rehearsed the benefites and freindships that he had many waies received of him, and howe much bownde he was thearfore to entertain him, and to make him good cheere, which since, the case standinge as it did, he could not without the Kinge's indignacion, he trusted, he saide, he would accept his good will, and suche poore cheere as he had. 'Mr. Lieutenant, quoth he againe, I verilie beleive as you maie see are you my good freind indeed, and would, as you saie, with your best cheere entertaine me, for the which I most hartelie thanke you: and assure your selfe, Mr Lieutenant, I doe not mislike my cheere, but whensoever I see doe, then thrust me out of your doores.'

25 Hen. VIII. c. 22  
Jan. 15. 1533. XXXII. Whearas the Oathe confirminge the Supremacie and Matrimony was by the † first statute in fewe wordes comprised, the Lord Chauncellor

† This Statute did not set down the Form of the Oath to be taken, but only enacted, that as well all the Nobles of the Realm spiritual and temporal as all other the Kings Subjects—— should make a corporal Oath in the presence of His Majesty, or before such other as His Majestie will depute for the same, 'That they shall truly, firmly & constantly, without fraud or guile, observe, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of this present Act'. I have not seen any copy of the Oath tendred on this occasion, but our Statute Book tells us that it was the very same which was enacted next VIII. c. 1. Year: in which there's not one word of the King's Supremacy altho



cellor and Mr. Secretarye did of their owne heads add mo wordes to it to make it appeere to the King's eares more pleasant and plaufible, and that Oathe, soe amplified, caused they to be ministred to Sir *Tho: Moore*, and to all other through the Realme. Which Sir *Tho: Moore* perceavinge said unto my wife, ' I maie tell thee *Megg* they ' that have committed me hither for refusinge of ' this Oathe, not agreeable with their Statute ' are not by their owne lawe able to justifie mine ' imprisonment: And suerlie daughter, it is great ' pittie that anie Christian Prince should by a ' flexible counsaile readie to followe his affect-

F 3

' ions,

altho' he then was by Parliament authorized Supreme Head, as He had been by Convocation sometime before. Thus the Act relates this matter. That at the day at the last prorogation of this present Parliament, the Nobles & Commons took such Oath as was then devised in writing for maintenance and defence of the said Act. The tenour of which Oath hereafter ensueth: Ye shall sweare to bear faith, truth and obedience alone-ly to the King's Majesty and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife Queen *Anne* begotten and to be begotten. And further to the heirs of our said Sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the Statute made for surety of his Succession in the Crown of this Realme, mentioned and contained, and not to any, other within this Realm, nor foreign authority and potentate. And in case any Oath be made, or hath been made by you to any person or persons that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain and defend the said Act of Succession, all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in confirmation, or for execution of the same, or for any thing therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be. And in no wise do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted directly or indirectly any thing or things privately or apertly to the let, hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same by any manner of meanes or for any manner of pretence: so help you God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangelists:

' ions, and by a weake Clergie lackinge grace  
' constantlie to stande to their learninge, with flat-  
' terie be so shamefullie abused.' But, at length,  
the Lord Chauncellor with Mr. Secretarie, espie-  
inge their owne oversight in that behalf, weare  
faine afterward to finde the meanes that another  
Statute should be made for the confirmation of  
the Oathe soe amplified with their additions.

XXXIII. After Sir *Tho: Moore* had given over  
his Office, and all other worldlie dooings thear-  
with to thintente he might from thenceforth set-  
tle himselfe the more quietlie to the Service of  
GOD, then made he a conveyance for the dispo-  
singe of all his lands, reservinge to himselfe an  
estate thearof onlie for tearme of life : and after  
his decease assuringe some part thearof to his wife,  
some to his sonne's wife for a Jointure in conside-  
ration that She was an Heire in possession of  
more then a hundred pounds land by the yeere,  
and some to me and my wife in recompence of  
our marriage mony with divers remainders over.  
Which conveyance and assurance was perfectlie  
finished longe before the matter whearuppon he  
was atteinted was made an offence, and yet after  
by Statute cleerlie avoided ; and soe weare all his  
landes that he had to his wife and children by  
the saide conveyance in suche sort assured, con-  
trarie to the order of Lawe, taken from them  
and brought into the King's hands, savinge that  
portion which he had appointed to my wife and  
me. Which although he had in the fore-saide  
conveyance reserved as he did the rest for tearme  
of life to himselfe, nevertheles uppon further con-  
sideracion two daies after by another conveyance  
hee gave the same immediatlye to my wife and  
me in possession : And so because the Statute had  
undonne onlie the first conveyance, givinge noe  
more

more to the Kinge but soe muche as passed by that, the second conveyance, whearby it was given to my wife and me two daies after was without the compass of the Statute; and soe was our portion by that meanes cleerlie reserved to us.

XXXIV. As Sir *Tho. Moore* in the Tower chaunced on a time lookinge out of his windowe *May. 4* to behold one Mr. *Raynolds* a religious, learned 1535. and virtuous Father of *Syon*, and 3 Monkes of the *Charter-house* for the matter of the Supremacy and \* Matrimony goinge out of the Tower to execucion, he as one longinge in that journey to have accompanied them, saide unto my wife then standinge there besides him, ' Loe doest ' thow not see, *Meg*, that these blessed Fathers ' be now as cheerfullie goinge to their deathes ' as bridegroomes to their marriage. Wherefore ' thearby maiest thow see myne owne good daughter, what a great difference there is betweene ' such as have in effect spent all their daies in a ' streight and penitentiall and painfull life religiouslie, and suche as have in the World, like ' Worldlie wretches, (as thy poore father hath ' donne) consumed all their time in pleasure and ' ease licentiouslie. For GOD consideringe their ' longe continued life in most sore and greivous ' pennance will noe longer suffer them to remaine ' heere in this Vale of miserie, but speedilie hence ' taketh them to the fruition of his everlastinge ' Deitie. Whearas thy fillie father, *Megg*, that ' like a wicked caitiffe, hath passed forthe the

F 4

' whole

\* By the Counsel and Exhortation of the Prior of the Charter-house the Convent submitted and took the Oath of Succession with this condition *as far as was lawfull*. This was done *May 4. 1534.* *Sirype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 195.*



' whole course of his miserable life most sinfullie,  
 ' GOD, thinkinge him not worthie foe soone to  
 ' come to that eternall felicitie, leavethe him heere  
 ' yet still in this world further to be plagued and  
 ' turmoiled with miserie.'

XXXV. Within a while after Mr. Secretarie comminge to him into the Tower from the Kinge, pretended muche freindship towards him, and for his comfort towld him, that the King's Highnes was his good and gracious Lord, and mindeth not with anie matter whearin he should have any cause of scruple henceforth to trouble his Conscience. As soone as Mr. Secretarie was gone, to expresse what comforte he received of his wordes, he wrote with a cole, for inke then had he none, these verses.

Flattringe fortune, looke thow never foe fayre,  
 Nor never so pleasantly beginne to smile,  
 As tho' thow wouldst my ruine all repayre,  
 Duringe my life thow shalt not me beguile,  
 Trust I shall GOD to enter in a while,  
 Thy Haven of Heav'n sure and uniforme,  
 Ever after thy calme looke I for noe storme.

XXXVI. When Sir *Tho: Moore* had continued a good while in the Tower, my Ladye his wife obteyned License to see him. Who, at her first comminge, like a simple ignorant woman and somewhat worldlie to, with this manner of salutation

*\* Sumilie.* \* homelie saluted him. ' What a good yeer, Mr. *Mere*, quoth she, I marvaile that yow that hether-  
 ' to have binne taken for a wiseman will now foe  
 ' plaie the foole to lie heere in this close filthie  
 ' prison, and be content thus to be shutt up a-  
 ' monge mise and ratts, when you might be a-  
 ' broad at your libertie, and with the favour  
 ' and

‘ and good will bothe of the Kinge and his Coun-  
 ‘ faile, if you would but doe as all the Bishops  
 ‘ and best-learned of this Realme have done.  
 ‘ And seeing you have at *Chelfey* a right faire  
 ‘ howse, your Librarie, your gallarie, garden, or-  
 ‘ chard and all other necessaries soe handsome  
 ‘ about you, wheare you might in the companie  
 ‘ of me your wife, your children and household  
 ‘ be merry, I muse what a GOD’s name you meane  
 ‘ heere still thus \* fondlie to tarrie.’ After he\* foolishly  
 had a while quietlie heard her, with a cheerfull  
 countenance he said unto her; ‘ Is not this howse,  
 ‘ quoth he, as nigh heaven as myne owne?’ To  
 whome she after her accustomed homelie fashion  
 not likinge suche talke, answered, twittle, twattle,  
 twittle, twattle. ‘ How say yow, Mrs. *Alce*, is it  
 ‘ not soe? *Bone Deus, bone Deus*, Man, will this  
 ‘ geare never be least?’ quoth she, ‘ Well then,  
 ‘ Mistriss, *Alce*, if it be soe, quoth hee, it is verie  
 ‘ well. For I see noe great cause why I should  
 ‘ muche joy in my gaie house, or in anie thinge  
 ‘ thearunto belonginge, when if I should but sea-  
 ‘ ven yeeres lie buried under the ground and then  
 ‘ arise and come thither againe, I should not faile  
 ‘ to finde some thearin that would bid me get me  
 ‘ out of dores and tell me, it weare none of mine.  
 ‘ What cause have I then to like such an house  
 ‘ as would so soon forget his Master? Soe her  
 ‘ perswasions moved him but a little.’

XXXVII. Not longe after came to him the  
 Lord Chauncellor, the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Sus-*  
*folke*, with Mr. Secretarie and certaine other of  
 the privie Councell, at two severall times by all  
 Pollicyes possible procuringe him either preciselie  
 to confesse the Supremacie, or preciselie to deny  
 it, wherunto, as appeereth by his examinations  
 in

\* His Works in English: See his Letter to his daughter Roper. in the faide \* great booke, they could never bring him. Shortlie theruppon Mr. *Riche*, afterward Lord *Riche*, then newlie made the King's Sollicitor, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and one Mr. *Palmer*, servant to the Secretarie, weare sent to Sir *Tho: Moore* into the Tower to fetch awaie his † bookes from him. And while Sir *Richard Southwell* and Mr. *Palmer* weare busie in the trussinge up of his bookes, Mr. *Ritch*, pretendinge freindlie talke with him, amonge other thinges of a set course, as it seemed, faide thus unto him. 'Forasmuche as it is well knowne, Mr. *Moore*, that yow are a man bothe wise and learned as well in the lawes of the Realme as otherwise, I praie you therfore, Sir, let me be soe bolde, as of good will, to put unto you this case,. Admitt theare weare, Sir, quoth he, an act of Parliament that the Realme should take me for Kinge, would not you, Mr. *Moore*, take me for Kinge? Yes, Sir, quoth Sir *Tho: Moore*, that would I.' I put the case further, quoth Mr. *Riche*, that weare theare an act of Parliament that all the Realme should take me for Pope, would not you then, Mr. *Moore*, take me for Pope? For answere, Sir, quoth Sir *Tho: Moore* to your first case, the Parliament maie well, Mr. *Riche*, meddle with the state of temporall Princes, but to make answere to your other case, I will put you this case; Suppose the Parliament would make a lawe that GOD should not be GOD, would you then, Mr. *Riche*, saye that GOD weare not GOD? Noe, Sir, quoth he, that would I not; Sithe noe Parliament maie make anie suche lawe. Noe more said Sir *Tho: Moore* (as Mr. *Riche* reported of him) could the

† Whereupon he shut up his Chamber-windowes, saying, When the wares are gone, and the tooles taken away, We must shut up shop.



‘ the Parliament make the Kinge Supream Head  
 ‘ of the Church:’ Uppon whose onelie report  
 was Sir *Tho: Moore* indicted of high treason on <sup>26. Hen.</sup>  
 the † Statute to deny the Kinge to be Supream <sup>VIII. c.</sup>  
 Head of the Church, into which Indictment <sup>13.</sup>  
 weare put these hainous wordes, *malitiouſlie, trai-*  
*terouſlie, and divelliſhlie.*

XXXVIII. When Sir *Tho: Moore* was brought  
 from the Tower to *Westminster Hall* to anſweare  
 to th’indictment, and at the Kinge’s benche barre  
 theare before the Judges arraigned, he openlie  
 towld them that he would upon the Indictment  
 [have] abidden in Lawe, but that he thearbie  
 ſhould have binne driven to confesse of himſelfe  
 the matter indeed, that was the denyall of the  
 King’s Supremacye, which he protested was un-  
 true. Whearfore he thearunto pleaded not guil-  
 tie, and ſoe reſerved unto him advantage to be ta-  
 ken of the bodie of the matter after verdict to  
 avoide the Indictment: and moreover added, that  
 if thoſe onlie odious tearms, *malitiouſlie, traite-*  
*rouſlie, and diabolicallie*, weare put out of the In-  
 dictment, he ſaw thearin nothing juſtlie to chardge  
 him. And for prooſe to the Jurie that Sir *Tho:*  
*Moore* was guiltie of this treason, Mr. *Ricke* was  
 called forth to give evidence unto them uppon  
 his Oath, as hee did: Againſt whome thus ſworne  
 Sir *Tho: Moore* beganne in this wiſe to ſay. ‘ If  
 ‘ I weare a man, my lordes, that did not regard  
 ‘ an Oathe I needed not, as it is well known,  
 ‘ ſtande in this place, and at this time, nor in  
 ‘ this caſe as an accuſed perſon. And if this  
 ‘ Oath of yours, Mr. *Ricke*, be true, then I praie  
 ‘ that I never ſee GOD in the face, which I  
 ‘ would not ſaie, weare it otherwiſe, to winne  
 the

† An Act whereby Offences be made high treason, & taking  
 away all the Sanctuaries for all manner of high treaſons.

‘ the whole World.’ Then recited he to the  
 Court the discourse of all their communicacion  
 in the Tower accordinge to the truthe, and faide;  
 ‘ In good faithe, Mr. *Rich*, I am sorrier for your  
 ‘ perjurie then for mine owne perill, and you  
 ‘ shall understand that neither I nor noe man else  
 ‘ to my knowledge, ever tooke you to be a man  
 ‘ of fuche credit as in anie matter of importance  
 ‘ I or anie other would at anie time vouchsafe to  
 ‘ communicate with you. And I, as you knowe,  
 ‘ of noe small while have binne acquainted with  
 ‘ you and your conversacion, who have knowen  
 ‘ you from your youthe hitherto, for we longe  
 ‘ dwelled together in one Parishe. Whearas your  
 ‘ selfe can tell (I am sorrie you compell me soe  
 ‘ to saie) you weare esteemed verie light of your  
 ‘ tongue, a great dicer, and of noe commendable  
 ‘ fame. And soe in your house at the *Temple*,  
 ‘ wheare hath binne your cheefe bringinge up  
 ‘ weare you likewise accounted. Can it therfore  
 ‘ seeme likelie to your Honorable Lordshipps that  
 ‘ I would in soe weightie a cause soe unadvisedlie  
 ‘ overshoot my selfe as to trust Mr. *Riche*, a man  
 ‘ of me alwaies reputed of little troth, as your  
 ‘ Lordshipps have heard, soe farre above my so-  
 ‘ veraigne Lord the Kinge, or anie of his noble  
 ‘ counsaillers, that I would unto him utter the  
 ‘ secrets of my conscience touchinge the Kinge’s  
 ‘ Supremacie, the speciall point and onelie marke  
 ‘ at my handes soe longe sought for? A thinge  
 ‘ that I never did, nor never would, after the Sta-  
 ‘ tute thearof made, reveile unto the Kinges  
 ‘ Highnes himselfe or to anie of his honourable  
 ‘ counsaillors, as it is not unknowne unto your  
 ‘ Honours at fundrie severall times sent from His  
 ‘ owne Person to the Tower to me for none other  
 ‘ purpose. Can this in your judgment, My Lords,  
 ‘ seeme likelie to be true? And yet if I had soe  
 ‘ donna

' donne indeed, my Lords, as Mr. *Ritch* hath  
 ' sworne, feinge it was spoken but in secret fami-  
 ' liar talke, nothinge affirminge, and onelie in put-  
 ' tinge of cases, without other displeasent circum-  
 ' stances, it cannot justlie be taken to be spoken  
 ' *malitiouſlie* : and wheare theare is no malice,  
 ' theare can be noe offence. And over this I can  
 ' never thinke, my Lords, that ſoe manie worthie  
 ' Byſhops, ſoe manie honorable personages, and  
 ' ſoe manie other worshipfull, virtuous, wiſe and  
 ' learned men as at the makeinge of that Lawe  
 ' weare in that Parliament aſſembled, ever ment  
 ' to have anie man punished by deathe in whome  
 ' theare could be founde noe malice, takinge *ma-*  
 ' *litia* for *malevolentia* : for if *malitia* be general-  
 ' lie taken for sinne, noe man is theare then that  
 ' can excuse himſelfe. *Quia ſi dixerimus quod*  
 ' *peccatum non habemus, noſmet ipſos ſeducemus, et*  
 ' *veritas in nobis non eſt.* And overlie this worde  
 ' *malitiouſlie* is [in this Statute material, as this  
 ' term *forcible* is] in the Statute of *forcible entreſſe*,  
 ' by which Statute if a man enter peaceable and  
 ' put not his adverſaries out *forceable* it is noe  
 ' offence, [but if he put him out *forceable* then  
 ' by that Statute it is an offence] and ſoe ſhall  
 ' he be punished by this tearme *forceable*. Be-  
 ' ſides this, the manifeſte goodnes of the King's  
 ' Highnes himſelfe, that hathe binne ſoe manie  
 ' waies my ſinguler good Lord, and that hath  
 ' ſoe deerlie loved and truſted me, even at my ve-  
 ' rie fiſt comminge into his honourable ſervice  
 ' with the dignity of his honourable Privie-Coun-  
 ' ſaile vouchſainge to admit me, and to Offices  
 ' of great credit and worſhip moſt liberallie ad-  
 ' vanced me; and finallie with that weightie  
 ' roome of his Grace's high Chauncellor, the like  
 ' wherof he never did to temporall man before,  
 ' next to his owne royall perſon the higheſt Of-  
 ' fice



' ficer in this noble Realme, foe farre above my  
 ' qualities or merites able and meet therfore of  
 ' his owne incomparable benignitie honoured and  
 ' exalted me by the space of twentie yeares and  
 ' more shewing his continuall favour toward me,  
 ' and, untill at myne owne poore suite it pleased  
 ' his highnes givinge me licence with his Maje-  
 ' sties favour to bestowe the residewe of my life  
 ' for the provision of my soule in the service of  
 ' GOD, and of his speciall goodnes to dischardge  
 ' and disburthen me, most benignelie heaped ho-  
 ' nors continually more and more uppon me:  
 ' All this his highnes goodnes, I saie, foe longe  
 ' thus continuallie extended towards me, weare  
 ' in my minde, my Lords, matter sufficient to  
 ' convince this slanderous surmise by this man foe  
 ' wrongfullie imagined against me.' Mr *Ritch*,  
 seeinge himselfe foe disproved, and his credit foe  
 fowlie defaced, caused Sir *Richard Southwell* and  
 Mr. *Palmer*, who in the time of their communi-  
 cation weare in the chamber, to bee sworne what  
 wordes had passed betwixt them. Whearuppon  
 Mr. *Palmer* uppon his deposicion saide, That 'be-  
 ' cause he was appointed onlie to looke to the  
 ' conveighance of his bookes into a sacke he gave  
 ' noe care to them,' Sir *Richard Southwell* like-  
 wise saide uppon his deposicion the effect that  
 Mr. *Palmer* had saide before. After this weare  
 theare manie other reasons, not now in my re-  
 membrance, by Sir *Tho: Moore* in his owne de-  
 fence alleadged to the discreditt of Mr. *Ritches*  
 foresaid evidence, & prooffe of the cleernes of  
 his owne conscience. Al which notwithstandinge,  
 the Jurie fownde him guiltie, and incontinent up-  
 pon their verditt the Lord Chauncellor, for that  
 matter cheife Commissioner, beginninge to pro-  
 ceede in Judgment against him, Sir *Tho: Moore*  
 saide unto him, ' My Lord, when I was towards

the Lawe the manner in suche case was to aske the Prisoner before Judgment what he could saie why Judgment should not be given against him.' Whearuppon the Lord Chauncellor, staieinge his judgment whearin he had partlie proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to saie to the contrarye.' Who then in this sorte most humblie made answere,

XXXIX. 'Forasmuche, my Lords, quoth he, as this Indictment is grownded uppon an Act of Parliament directlie repugnant to the Lawes of GOD and his holie Church, the supream government whearof, or anie part thearof maie noe temporall Prince presume by anie lawe to take uppon him, as rightfullie belonginge to the Sea of Roome, a Spirituall prehemineny by the mouthe of our Saviour himselfe personallie present uppon the earthe onlie to Saint Peter & his Successors Byshops of the same Sea by speciall prerogative graunted, yt is therfore in lawe amongst Christian men insufficient to chardge anie christian man. And for prooffe thearof, like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities, [he declared] that like as this Realme, beinge but a Member and small part of the Church, mighte not make a particular lawe disagreeable to the generall lawe of Christs universall Catholicke Church, noe more then the Cittie of London, beinge but one poore member in respect of the whole Realme, might make a Lawe against an Act of Parliament to binde the whole Realme: Soo further shewed hee that it was both contrary to the Lawes & Statutes of this our Land yet unrepealed, as they might evidently perceave in MAGNA CHARTA, *quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia sua jura integra et illesa*, and alsoe contrarie to  
' that

' that sacred Oathe which the King's Highnes  
 ' himselfe and everie other Christian Prince alwaies  
 ' with great solemnitie, receaveth at their Coro-  
 ' nations. Alleadginge moreover that noe more  
 ' might this Realme of *England* refuse obedience  
 ' to the Sea of *Roome*, then might the child re-  
 ' fuse obedience to his owne naturall Father. For,  
 ' as St. *Paul* said to the *Corinthians*, *I have re-*  
 ' *generated you, my children in Christ*; soe might  
 ' St. *Gregorye* Pope of *Roome* (Since by St. *Au-*  
 ' *gustine* his messenger we first receaved the Chri-  
 ' stian Faith) of us Englishmen trulie saie, You  
 ' are my children, because I have under Christ  
 ' geven to you everlastinge salvacion, a farre high-  
 ' er and better inheritance then any carnall Fa-  
 ' ther can leave to his children, and by regenera-  
 ' tion have made you spirituall children in Christ.  
 Then was it by the Lord Chauncellor thearunto  
 answered, That ' seeinge all the Byshops, Uni-  
 ' versities, and best learned [men of the Realme]  
 ' had to this Act agreed, it was muche mar-  
 ' vailed that hee alone against them all would soe  
 ' stiffelie stand thearat, and soe vehementlie argue  
 ' thearagainst.' To that Sir *Tho. Moire* replied,  
 sayeing: ' If the number of Byshops and Uni-  
 ' versities be soe materiall as your Lordshipp seem  
 ' ethe to take it, then see I little cause, my Lord,  
 ' why that thinge in my conscience should make  
 ' anie chaunge. For I nothinge doubt but that,  
 ' though not in this Realme, yet in Christendome  
 ' about, of these well learned Byshopps and ver-  
 ' tuous men that be yet alive they be not the  
 ' fowerth part that be of your opinion thearin.  
 ' But if I should speake of those that be dead, of  
 ' whome manie be now holye Sainctes in Heaven,  
 ' I am verie sure it is the farre greater part of  
 ' them that all the while they lived thought in  
 ' this case that waie that I now thinke; and ther-  
 ' fore



‘fore am I not bownde, my Lord, to conforme  
‘my conscience to the counsaile of owre Realme,  
‘against the generall counsaile of Christendome.’

XL. Now when Sir *Tho: Moore* for the avoid-  
inge of the Indictment had taken as manie ex-  
ceptions as he thought meet, and manie moe rea-  
sons then I can now remember alleadged, the  
Lord Chauncellor, lothe to have the burthen of  
the Judgment wholie to depend uppon himselfe,  
there openlie asked the advise of the Lord *Fitz-*  
*James* then Lord Chiefe Justice of the King’s  
benche and joined in commission with him, Whi-  
ther this Indictment weare sufficient or not. Who,  
like a wise man answered, ‘My Lords all, by  
‘Saint *Julian* (that was ever his Oathe) I must  
‘needs confesse that if the Act of Parliament be  
‘not unlawfull, then is the Indictment in my con-  
‘science goode. Whearuppon the Lord Chaun-  
‘cellor said to the rest of the Lords, ‘Lo, my  
‘Lords, loe you heere what my Lord cheite  
‘Justice saiethe,’ and soe immediately gave judg-  
ment against him. After which ended, the  
Commissioners yet further curteslie offer’d him,  
if he had anie thinge else to alledge for his de-  
fence, to graunt him favourable Audience. Who  
answared, ‘more have I not to saie, my Lordes,  
‘but that like as the blessed Apostle Saint *Paul*,  
‘as we read in the Actes of the Apostles, was  
‘present and consented to the deathe of St. *Stephen*  
‘and kepte their clothes that stoned him to deathe;  
‘and yet be they now bothe twaine holie Sainctes  
‘in Heaven, and shall continue theare freinds to-  
‘gether for ever: soe I verilie trust & shall therefore  
‘right hartelie praie, that though youre Lord-  
‘ships have now heere in earthe beene Judges  
‘to my condemnacion, we maie yet heerafer in  
‘heaven all meet together to everlastinge salvation.’

G

Thus

Thus much touching Sir *Tho: Moore's* arraignment, beinge not theare present my selfe, have I by the credible report partlie of the Right Worshipfull Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, partlie of *Rich: Chaywood* and *John Webb* gentlemen, with others of good credit at the heeringe thearof present themselves, as farre forthe as my poore wit and memorie would serve me, heere trulie rehearsed unto you.

XLI. Now after his arraignment departed he from the barre to the Tower againe led by Sir *William Kingstone*, a tall, stronge and comelie Knight, Conitable of the Tower, and his verie deer freind. Who when he had brought him from *Westminster* to the owld swan towards the Tower, theare with a heavie heart, the teares runninge downe his cheekes, bade him farewell. Sir *Tho: Moore*, seeinge him soe sorrowfull, comforted him with as good wordes as he could, saieinge, 'good Mr. *Kingstone*, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheere : For I will praie for you and my good Ladie your wife that wee maie meet in Heaven together, wheare we shall be merrie for ever and ever.' Soone after Sir *William Kingstone*, talkinge with me of Sir *Tho: Moore*, saied, 'In good faith, Mr. *Rooper*, I was ashamed of my selfe that at my departinge from your Father I fownde my hart soe feoble and his soe stronge, that he was faine to comfort me that should rather have comforted him.'

XLII. When Sir *Tho: Moore* came from *Westminster* to the Tower Ward againe, his daughter, my wife, desirous to see her Father, whome she thought she should never see in this World after, and a soe to have his finall blessinge, gave attendance about the Tower Wharffe wheare she knewe he should

should passe before he could enter into the Tower. Theare tarryeing his comminge, as soone as she sawe him, after his blessinge uppon her knees reverentlie received, she hastinge towards him, without consideration or care of her selfe pressinge in amongst the midst of the thronge, and companie of the Garde that with Holbards and Bills went rownd about him, hastelie ranne to him, and theare openlie in sight of them imbraced him [and] tooke him about the neck and kissed him. Who well likinge her most naturall and deere daughterlie affection towards him gave her his fatherlie blessinge and manie godlie wordes of comfort besides. From whome after she was departed, she not satisfied with the former sight of him, and like one that had forgotten herselfe, beinge all ravished with the entire love of her Father, havinge respect neither to her selfe nor to the presse of people and multitude that weare theare about him, suddainlie turned backe againe, ranne to him as before, tooke him about the necke and divers times kissed him lovinglie, and at last with a full and heavie heart was faine to depart from him: the beholdinge whearof was to manie that weare present soe lamentable that it made them for verie sorrow thearof to weepe and mourne.

XLIII. Soe remained Sir *Tho. Moore* more then a weeke after his Judgment in the Tower. From whence the daie before he suffered he sent his shirt of heare, not willing to have it seene, to my wife his deerlie beloved daughter, and a Letter written with a cole, contained in the foresaid booke of his Workes, expresseing the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrow in these wordes followinge. 'I comber you, good *Margrett*, [much] but I would be sorrie [if] it should be anie longer then to morrow. For to Morrow is

See Letters at the end. No XII.



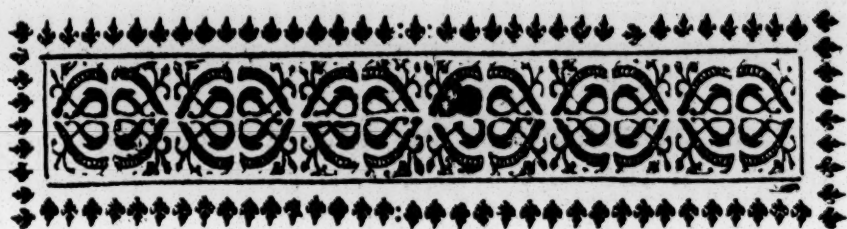
*July 6.* *Saint Thomas* even-day and the Utas of St. *Peeter*,  
*Octav:* and therfore to morrowe I longe to goe to GOD;  
*Apostolo-* It weare a daie verie meet and convenient for  
*rum Petri* me. Deere *Megg*, I never liked your manner  
*& Pauli.* better towards me then when you last kissed me.  
 For I like when daughterlie love and deere cha-  
 ritie hath noe leasure to looke to worldlie cour-  
 tesie, And soe uppon the next morrowe, be-  
 inge tuesdaie beinge St. *Thomas* his eve daye and  
 the Utas of Saincte *Peeter* in the Yeere of our  
*Translatio* Lord 1535, accordinge as he in his Letter the daie  
*Sancti Tho-* before had wished, earlie in the morninge came  
*me Marty.* to him Sir *Tho: Pope*, his singular good freinde,  
*July 7.* on message from the Kinge and counsaile that he  
 should the same daie before nine of the clock in  
 the morninge suffer deathe, and that therfore he  
 should forthwith prepare himself thearto. ' Mr.  
 ' *Pope*, quoth Sir *Tho: Moore*, for your good ti-  
 ' dings I hartelic thanke you. I have been al-  
 ' waies muche bownden to the Kinge's Highnes  
 ' for the benefites and honours that he hath still  
 ' from time to time most bountifullye heaped up-  
 ' pon me; and yet more bownden am I to his  
 ' Grace for puttinge me into this place wheare I  
 ' have had convenient time and space to have re-  
 ' membrance of my end. And soe, GOD helpe  
 ' me, most of all, Mr. *Pope*, am I bownden to  
 ' his highnes that it pleaseth him soe shortlie to  
 ' ridd me from the miseries of this wretched  
 ' world, and therfore will I not faile earnefflic to  
 ' praie for his Grace bothe heere and allsoe in  
 ' the worlde to come.' The Kinge's pleasure is  
 farther, quoth Mr. *Pope*, that at your execution  
 you shall not use manie wordes. ' Mr. *Pope*,  
 ' quoth he, you doe well to give me warninge of  
 ' his grace's pleasuer, for otherwise at that time  
 ' had I purposed somewhat to have spoken, but  
 ' of noe matter whearwith his Grace or any should  
 ' have

‘ have had cause to be offended. Nevertheles,  
 ‘ whatsoever I intended, I am readie obedientlie  
 ‘ to conforme my selfe to his grace’s commande-  
 ‘ ment; and I beseeche you, good Mr. *Pope*,  
 ‘ to be a meane to his highnes that my daughter  
 ‘ *Margaret* maie be at my buriall.’ The Kinge is  
 content allreadie, quoth Mr. *Pope*, that your wife  
 and childeren and other your freinds shall have  
 libertie to be present thearat. ‘ Oh how much be-  
 ‘ holdinge then, said Sir *Tho: Moore*, am I unto his  
 ‘ Grace that unto my poore buriall vouchsafethe  
 ‘ to have soe gracious consideracion!’ Whear-  
 withall Mr. *Pope*, takinge his leave, could not  
 refraine from weepinge. Which Sir *Tho: Moore*  
 perceavinge comforted him in this wise. ‘ Quiet  
 ‘ your selfe, good Mr. *Pope*, and be not discom-  
 ‘ forted: for I trust that we shall once in Heaven  
 ‘ see eache other full merrilie, wheare we shall be  
 ‘ sure to live and love togeather in joyfull blisse  
 ‘ eternallie.’ Uppon whose departuer, Sir *Tho: Moore*,  
 as one that had binne invited to some so-  
 lemn feast, chaunged himselfe into his best appar-  
 rell. Which Mr. Lieutenant espieing advised  
 him to put it of, sayeing, that he that should  
 have it was but a raskall. ‘ What, Mr. Lieu-  
 ‘ tenant quoth he, shall I account him a raskall  
 ‘ that shall doe me this daie soe singuler a benifit?  
 ‘ Naie, I assuer you, weare it cloath of Gold, I  
 ‘ should thinke it well bestowed on him, as *Sct. Cy-*  
 ‘ *prian* did, who gave his executioner thirtie peeces  
 ‘ of gould.’ And albeit, at length, he, through  
 Mr Lieutenant’s importunate persuation, altered his  
 apparrail, yet, after the example of the holie Mar-  
 tyr *Sct. Cyprian*, did he, of that little money that  
 was left him, send an Angell of gould to his exe-  
 cutioner. And soe was he by Mr. Lieutenant  
 brought out of the Tower to the Place of Exe-  
 cution. Whcare goinge up the Skaffold, which

was soe weake that it was readie to fall, he saide merrilie to the Lieutenant, 'I praie see me up safe, 'and for my comminge downe let me shift for my 'selfe.' Then desired he all the people thearabout to praie for him, and to beare witness with him that he should theare suffer deathe in and for the faithe of the Catholicke Church. Which donne he kneeled downe, and after his prayers saide turned to the Executioner with a cheerfull countenance, and saide unto him, 'Plucke up thy 'spirits, man, and be not affraide to doe thine 'office: My neck is verie short, take heede therefore thou strike not awrie for savinge of thine 'honestie.' Soe passed Sir *Tho: Moore* out of this world to GOD uppon the verie same daie which he most desired. Soone after his deathe came Intelligence thearof to the Emperor *Charles*. Whearuppon he sent for Sir *Tho: Eliott*, our Englishe Embassadour, and said to him; My Lord Embassador, We understande that the Kinge yower Master hath put his faithfull and grave counsailor to deathe. Whearuppon Sir *Tho: Eliott* answered, that he understoode nothinge thearof. Well, saide the Emperor, it is too true: and this will We saie, that had We binne Master of such a servant, of whose dooings ourselves have had these manie Yeeres noe small experience, We would rather have lost the best cittie of our Dominions, then have lost such a worthie Counsailor. Which matter was by the same Sir *Tho: Eliott* to my selfe, to my wife, to Mr *Clement* and his wife, to Mr. *Jhon Heywood* and his wife, and unto divers others his freindes accordinglie reported,

LETTERS





# LETTERS

OF

Sir *Thomas More*, his beloved daughter  
Mrs. *Margaret Rooper* and of *Erasmus*

Relating to

The foresaid HISTORY of Sir  
*Thomas's* LIFE and DEATH.



N<sup>o</sup> I.

Sir *Thomas More's* Letter to Mr. *Thomas Crom.* Febru. 1.  
well than one of the *Kinges Privy Counsell.* 1532-3

**R**ight worshipfull in my moste hartly wise I re-  
commend me unto you. Sir my Cosyn *Wil-*  
*lyam Rastal* hath enformed me that your master-  
ship of your goodnes shewed him, that it hath been  
reported, that I haue against the booke of certain  
articles (which was late put forth in print by the

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\* *Kinge's*

\* de Pote-  
state Chri-  
stianorum  
Regum in  
uis Eccle-  
sijs contra  
Pontificis  
Tyranni-  
dem & hor-  
ribilem im-  
pietatem.  
Or. The  
King's Ju-  
stification  
of his Ap-  
peal from  
the Pone-  
tifice Ec-  
cle. Mem-  
orials, Vol  
I. p. 147

\* Kinges honorable counsell) made an answer, & deliuered it unto my said cosin to print. And albeit that he for his part truly denied it, yet because he somewhat remained in doubt, whether your mastership gaue him therein full credence or not, he desired me for his farther discharge to declare you the very troth. Sir as help me GOD neither my said cosin nor any man els, neuer had any booke of mine to print, one or other, since the said booke of the Kinges counsell came forth. For of troth the last booke that he printed of mine was that booke that I made against an unknown heretike which hath sent ouer a worke that walketh in ouer many mens handes named *the Souper of the Lord*, against the blessed Sacrament of the Alter. My aunswere whereunto albeit that the printer (unware to me) dated it anno. 1534. by which it seemeth to be printed since the feast of the circumficion, yet was it of very troth both made & printed, & many of them gone before Christmas. And my self neuer espied the printer's oversight in the date, in more than three weekes after. And this was in good faith the last booke that my cosin had of myne Which being true as of troth it shal be founde sufficient for his declaracion in this behalfe. As touching myne owne self, I shal say thus much farther, that on my faith I neuer made any such booke, nor neuer thought to do. I red the said booke ones ouer, & neuer more. But I am for ones reading very farre of from many thinges, wherof I would haue metely suer knowledge ere euer I wold make an answer, though the matter & the booke both, concerned the porest man in a towne, & were of the simplest man's making to. For of many thinges which in that booke be touched, in some I knowe not the lawe, & in some I knowe not the fact. And therefore would I neuer be so childish, nor so

plaie the proud arrogant sole, by whomsoever the booke had bene made & to whomsoever the matter had belonged, as to presume to make an aunswere to the boke, concerning the matter wherof I neuer were sufficiently lerned in the lawes, nor fully enstructed in the factes. And then while the matter partained unto the Kinges highnes, & the boke professeth openlie that it was made by hys honorable counsaile, & by them put in print with his graces licens obtained therunto, I verely trust in good faith that of your good mind toward me, though I neuer wrote you worde thereof, your selfe will both think & say so much for me, that it were a thing far vnlikely, that an answer shold be made therunto bi me. I wil by the grace of almighty God, as long as it shal please him to lend me life in this worlde, in all such places, (as I am of my duety to God & the Kinges grace boun- den) truly say my mind, & discharge my Conscience, as becometh a pore honest true man, wher- soever I shal be by his grace commaunded. Yet surely if it shold happen any boke to come abroad in the name of hys grace or hys honorable coun- saile, if the boke to me seemed such as my self would not haue giuen mine owne aduise to the making, yet I know my bounden duety, to bere more honour to my prince, & more reuerence to his honorable counsaile, than that it could become me for many causes, to make an aunswere unto such a boke, or to counsaile & aduise any man els to do it. And therefore as it is a thing I neuer dyd nor entendid, so I hartely besech you if you shal happen to perceue any man, either of euil wil or of lightnes, any such thing report by me, be so good maister to me, as helpe to bring us both together, And than neuer take me for honest af- ter, but if ye finde his honesty somewhat enpaired in the matter. Thus am I bold upon your good-

nes



nes to encomber you with my long rude letter, in the contentes wherof, I estiones hartely beseeche you to be in manner aforesaid, good maister & frend vnto me whereby you shall binde me to be your bedesman while I liue: as knoweth our Lord, whose especiall grace both do help & ghostly long preserue & keep you. At *Chelchi* in the vigile of the purificacion of our blessed Lady by the hand of

Assuredly all your owne,

*Thomas More* knight.



## N<sup>o</sup> II.

*February*  
*or March,*  
1533-4

*Sir Thomas More's Letter to Maister Thomas Cromwel, &c.*

\* Nun **R**ight worshipful, after right hartye recommendations, so it is that I am enformed, that there is a byl put in against me into the higher house before the lordes, concerning my communicacion with the \* nome of *Canterbury*, & mi writing vnto her: wherof I not a little meruaile, the trouthe of the matter being such as God & I know it is, & as I haue plainly declared vnto you by my former letters, wherein I found you than so good, that I am now bold estiones vpon your goodnes to desire you to shew me the fauour, that I might the rather by your good means, haue a copy of the bil. Which sene, if I find any untrue surmise therein, as of likihode there is, I may make mine humble sute vnto the kinges

kinges good grace, & declare the truth, either to his grace, or by his graces commaundement, wherfocuer the matter shal require. I am so sure of my truth toward his grace, that I cannot mistrust his graces fauoure towardes me, vpon the trouth knowen, nor the iugement of any honest man. Nor neuer shal there losse in this matter greue me, being my self so innocent as god & I know me, whatfocuer should happen me therin, by the grace of almighty god, who both bodely & ghostly preserue you. At *Chelsey* this present *saterday* by the hand of

hartely all your owne,

*Tho: More* knight.



### N<sup>o</sup> III.

#### *Sir Thomas More's Letter to the King.*

**I**T may like your highnes to cal to your gracious remembrance, that at such time as of the great weighty rome & office of your chaunceller (with which so farre aboue my merites or qualities able & mete therfore, your highnes had of your incomparable goodnes honored & exaltid me) ye were so good & gracious vnto me, as at my pore humble sute to discharge & disburden me, giuing me licens with your gracious fauour to bestow the residue of my life to come, about the prouision for my soule in the seruice of god, & to be your bedelman & pray for you, it pleased your highnes ferther to saye vnto me, that  
for

for the seruice which I before had done you (which it than liked your goodnes far aboue my deferring to commend) that in any sute that I should after haue to your grace, that either should concerne mine honour, (the word it liked your highnes to vse vnto me) or that shold pertaine vnto my profite, I should finde your highnes good & gracious lorde vnto me. So is it now gracious

*souerein* the worldly honour is the thing where-  
 \*possession of I haue resigned both the \*possession and the desire, in the resignacion of your most honorable office. And worldly profite I trust experiens proueth & daily more & more shal †proue that I neuer was very greedy theron. But now is my most humble sute vnto your excellent highnes, to beseeche the same somewhat to tender my pore honesty: howbeit principally, that of your accustomed goodnes, no sinister informacion moue your noble grace to haue any more distrust of my troth & deuotion toward you, than I haue or shal during my life geue cause. For in this matter of the nunne of *Canterbury*, I haue vnto your trusty counsellor maister *Tho: Cromwel* by my writing as plainly declared the trouthe, as I possibly can. Which my declaracion, of his dutie toward your grace, & his goodnes toward me, he hath I understand declared vnto your grace. In any \*part of al which my dealing whither any other man may †peradventure put any doubt or moue any scruple of suspicion, that can I neither tell, nor lieth in my hand to let. But vnto my self, it is not possible any part of my said demeanure to seme euil, the very clerenesse of mine own Conscience knoweth in all the matter my mind and entent so good. Wherefore, most gracious soueraine, I neither wil, nor yet can wel become me, with your highnes to reason or argue the matter, but in my most humble maner prostrate at your gracious



cious fete, I only beseeche your grace, with your owne highe prudence & your accustomed goodnes, confidir & way the matter. And if that in your so doing, your owne verteous minde shal giue you, that notwithstanding the manifold & excellent goodnes that your gracious highnes hath by so many maner wayes used vnto me, I were a wretche of such a monstruouse ingratitude, as coulde with anye of them all, or any other person liuing, digresse from my bounden dutye of allegeans toward your good grace, than desire I no further fauour at your gracious hand, than the losse of all that euer I may lese, goodes, landes, liberty, & finally my lyfe with all; wherof the keeping of any part vnto my self, could neuer do me peniworth of pleasure, but only should my comfort be, that after my short life & your long (which with continuall prosperite to goddes pleasure our lord of his mercy send you) I shold ones mete your grace againe in heauen, & there be merry with you: where amonge mine other pleasures this shoulde yet be one, that your grace shold surely se there than, that howsoeuer you take me, I am your true bedeman now, & euer haue ben, & wil be til I die, howsoeuer your pleasure be to do by me. Howbeit, if in the confideryng of my cause, your high wisdome, & gracious goodnes, perceue (as I verely trust in god you shall) that I none otherwise haue demeaned my self, than well may stande with my bounden duty of faithfulness toward your royal majesty, than in my most humble wise, I beseech your most noble grace, that the knowledge of your true gracious perswasion in that behalfe, maye releue the torment of my present heauines conceued of the dread & feare (by that I here such a greuous bill put by your lerned counsaile into your high court of parlement against me.) lest your grace might by  
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some finifter informacion, be moued any thyngc to thinke the contrary. Which if your highnes do not, as I trust in god & your gret goodnes (the matter by your own high prudence examined & considered,) ye wil not, than in my most humble manner, I besече your highnes ferther, (albeit that in respect of my former request this other thing is very sleight) yet sith your highnes hath here before of your mere abundant goodnes heped & accumilate vpon me (tho I was ther to farre unworthy) from time to time both worship & great honour to: Sith I now haue left al such thinges, & nothing seke or desire, but the life to come, & pray for your grace the while, it may like your highnes of your accustomed benigne, somewhat to tender my pore honesty, & neuer suffer (by the meane of such a byll put forth against me) anye man take occasion hereafter against the troth to slander me: which should yet by the peryll of their owne soules do themself more hurt then me: which shal I trust settle my harte with your gracious fauour, to depende vpon the comfort of the trouth & hope of heauen, & not vpon the fallible oppinion, or sone spoken woordes of light & sone changeable people. And thus most dradde & most dere soueraine lord, I besече the blessed Trinite preserue your most noble grace both body & soule, & all that are your well willers & amende al the contrarye: amonge whome, if euer I be or euer haue bene one, than praye I God that he maye with my open shame & destruction declare it.

N<sup>o</sup> IV.

Sir Thomas More's Letter to Mr. Thomas Cromwel.

February  
or March  
1532-3.

**R**ight worshipful, after my most hartie recommendation, it may please you to understand that I have perceived by the relation of my sonne *Rooper* (for which I beseeche Almighty GOD reward you) your most charitable labour taken for me toward the King's gracious highnes in the procuringe at his most gracious hande, the relief and comfort of this wofull heauines in which my hart standeth, neither for the losse of goodes, landes or libertie, nor of anye respect either, of this kinde of honesty that standeth in the opinion of people & worldly reputacion: al which maner of thinges (I thank our lord) I so little esteeme for any affection therin toward my self, that I can wel be content to jubard lese and forgo them al & my lyfe \* jeopard therewith, without any fether respite than euen this same present day, either for the pleasure of god or of my prince. But surely good maister *Cromwel* (as I by mouth declared vnto you some part, for all could I neyther than saye nor now write) it thoroughly parceth my pore hart, that the Kinges highnes (whose gracious fauour toward me farre aboue al the thinges of this worlde I have evermore desired, & wherof, both for the conscience of mine own true faithful hart and deuocion toward him, & for the manifold benefites of his high goodnes continually bestowed upon me, I thought my self alway sure) should conceue any such



such opinion of me, as to think that in my communicacion, either with the nunne or the freres, or in my letter written unto the nunne, I had any other maner minde than might well stand with the duty of a tender louing subject towards hys natural prince: or that his grace shold reckon in me any maner of obstinate hart against his pleasure, in any thinge that euer I said or did concerning his gret mater of his mariage or concerning the primacy of the Pope. Neuer would I wishe other thing in this world more life than that his highnes in these thinges all thre, as parfittely knew my dealing & as thorowly saw my mind, as I do my selfe, or as god doth himself, whose sight passeth deper into my thoughte, than mine owne. For, Sir, as

1. for the first matter, that is to wytte my letter or communicacion (with the nunne) the whole discourse whereof, in my former letter I haue as plainly declared vnto you as I possible can) so pray I god to withdraw that scruple & dout of my good minde out of the kinges noble brest: and none otherwise, but as I not only thought none harme, but also purposed good: and in that thing most, in which (as I perceue) hys grace conceueth moste greife & suspicion, that is to witte in my letter which I wrote vnto her. And therefore, Sir, sith I haue by writing declared the trouth of my dede, & am redy by mine othe to declare the trouth of mine entent. I can deuise no ferther thing by me to be done in the mater but onely beseeche almighty God to put into the kinges gracious minde, that as God knoweth the thing is in dede, so hys noble grace maye take it.
2. Nowe towching the *second* point, concerning his graces great matter of his mariage, to then- tent that you maye see cause wyth the better conscience too make sute vnto his highnes for me, I shall as playnely declare you my demeanure in  
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that matter, as I haue already declared you in the other, for more plainly I cannot.

Sir vpon a time at my comming from beyond the sea, where I had bene in the kinges busines, I repayred (as my duty was) vnto the kinges grace, being at that time at *Hampton* court. At which time sodenly his highnes walking in the galery, brake with me of his great matter, & shewed me that it was now perceued, that his marriage was not onely against the positiue lawes of the church, & the written law of God, but also in such wise against the lawe of nature, that it coude in no wyse by the church be dispensable. Nowe so was it before my going ouer the sea, I had hard certayn thynges moued against the bull of the dispensacion concerning the woordes in the law leuetycall, & the lawe deutronomicall, to proue the prohibition to be *De jure divino*. But yet perceued I not at that tyme, but that the greater hope of the matter, stode in certayne sawtes that were founden in the bull wherby the bul should by the law not be sufficient. And suche comfort was there in that point (as farre as I perceued) a good season, that the counsayle on the tother part, were fayne to bring forth a brief, by which they pretended those defawtes to be supplied; the trueth of whych brief was by the kynges counsayle suspected, & much dilygence was there after done by the tryall of that point: wherin what was finally founden, eyther I neuer knewe, or elles I not remember. But I rehearse you thys, too the entent you shall knowe that the firste tyme that euer I hard that poynt moued, that it shoulde be in suche hyghe degree againste the lawe of nature, was the tyme in which as I beganne to tell you, the kynges grace shewed it me hymselfe, & layde the Byble open before me, & there redde me the woordes that moued his highnes & dyuers

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other erudite persons so to thynke, & asked me further what my selfe thought thereon. At whych tyme, not presuming to looke that his highnes shoulde any thyng take that point for the more proued or improued, for my poore minde in so great a mater, I shewed neuerthelesse (as my duety was at hys commaundement) what thyng I thought vpon the woordes which I there redde. Wherevpon hys hyghnes acceptyng benignely my sodaine vnaduised aunswere, commaunded me to commune further wyth mayster Fox nowe hys gracyous al-moygner, & to reade wyth hym a booke that than was in makyng for that matter. After whych booke redde, & my pore oppinion eftsones declared vnto hys hyghnes thereupon, his highnes lyke a prudent & a verteuouse prynce assembled at a nother tyme at *Hampton* court, a good nombre of very well learned menne. At which tyme as farre as euer I harde, there were (as was in so greates a matter mooste lykely to be) dyuers oppinions amonge them. Howbeit I neuer harde, but that they agreed at that time vpon a certayn forme in whych the booke shoulde be made, whych was afterwarde at *Yorke* place in my lorde Cardynalles chambre redde, in the presence of dyuers bishoppes & many learned men. And they all thought that there appeared in the booke, good & reasonable causes, that myght well moue the kynges hyghnesse beyng so vertuouse a prynce to concene in hys mynde a scrupple agaynst hys maryage: whyche while he coulde not otherwyse auoyde, he dyd well & vertuouesly for the acquietting of his conscience, to sewe and procure to haue hys doubtte decyded by judgement of the church. After thys, the sute beganne & the legates sate vppon the matter. During all which time I neuer meddled there, nor was a manne mete to do, for the mater was in hande by an ordynarye proces of  
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the spyrytuall lawe, wherof I coulde lyttle skil. And yet while the legates wer sitting vpon the mater, it plesed the kinges highnes to send me in the company of mi lorde of *London*, now of *Duresme*, in embassiate aboute the peace, that at our being there was concluded at *Camerage*, betweene his highnes and the Emperour & the frenche kinge. And after my comming home, hys hyghnes of hys onelye goodnes (as farre vnworthy as I was thereto) made me as you well knowe hys Chauncellour of this relme. Sone after which time, hys grace moued me agayne yet eftsones, to loke & consider his gret matter, & wel & indifferently to ponder such thinges as I shold find therin. And if it so wer that therupon it should hap me to se such thinges as shoulde perswade me to that part, he would gladly use me among other of his counsaillours in that matter. And neuerthelesse he graciously declared vnto me, that he would in no wise, that I should other thing do or say therin, than vpon that that I shold perceiue mine own conscience should serue me, & that I shold first loke vnto god, & after god vnto him. Which moste gracious words, was the first lesson also that euer his grace gaue me at my first coming into his noble seruice. This mocion was to me very comfortable, & much I longed beside ani thing that my self either had sene, or by further serche should hap to finde for the one part or the tother, yet specially to haue some confers in the matter, with some such of his graces learned counsel, as most for his part had labored, & most had found in the mater. Wherupon his highnes assigned vnto me, the now most reuerent farthers Archbishoppes of *Canterbury* & *York*, with maister doctour *Fox* now his graces Almoigner & maister doctor *Nicholas* the *Italion* frere. Wherupon I not onely sought & red & as far forth as

my pore witte & learning serued me, wel waied & considered euery such thing as I could find my self, or rede in any other mans labour that I could get, which any thing had written therin, but had also diligent conferens with his graces counsellors aforesaide : whose honours & worships I nothing mistrust in this point, but that they both haue & will report vnto hys hyghnes, that they neuer found obstinate maner or fashion in me, but a minde as toward & as confirmable, as reson could in a matter disputable require. Wherupon the kinges highnes being farther aduertised both by them & by my self, of my pore oppinion in the matter, (wherin to haue bene able or mete to do him seruice, I wold as I than shewed his highnes, haue ben more glad, than of al such worldly commodities, as I either than had, or euer shold come to) his highnes graciously taking in gre my good mind in that behalf, vsed of his blessed disposition in the persecuting of his gret matter, only those (of whom his grace had good nombre) whose consciens his grace perceyueth, wel & fully perswadeth vpon that part. And as well me as any other to whom hys highnes thought the thing to seme otherwise, he vsed in his other busines : abiding of his abundant goodnes neuerthelesse gracious lord vnto euery man, nor neuer was willing to put any man in ruffle or trouble of his conscience. After this did I neuer nothing more therein nor neuer anye worde wrote I therein to thempairing of his graces part, neither before nor after : but settling my minde in quiet to serue his grace in other things, I would not so much as loke nor let lye by me any boke of the tother part, albeit that I gladly red afterward diuers bokes that were made on his part. Nor neuer would I rede the boke that maister *Abel* made on the tother side, nor other bokes which wer (as I  
hard

hard say) made in latten beyonde the sea, nor neuer gaue eare to the popes proceeding in the mater. Moreouer where I had found in my study, a booke that I had before borrowedde of my lord of *Batke*, which boke he had made of the matter at such time as the legates sate here threreupon, which boke had ben by me neglegently cast aside, & that I shewed him I wold sende him home his boke againe, he told me that in good faith he had longe time before discharged hys minde of the matter, & hauing forgotten that copy to remaine in my hand, had burned his own copy that he had therof at home : and because he no more minded to meddle any thing in the matter, he desired me to burn the same boke to. And vpon my faith so did I. Besides this, dyuers other ways haue I so vsed my self, that if I reherfed them al, it should wel apere that I never haue had against his graces mariage any maner demenure wherby his highnes might have ani maner cause or occasion of displeasure toward me. For likewise as I am not he which either can, or whom it could become to take vpon me the determination or decision of such a weighty matter, wherof diuers pointes a gret way passe my lerning, so am I he, that among other his graces faithful subjects, his highnes being in possession of his marriage, will most hartely pray for the prosperous estate of his grace, longe to continue to the pleasure of god. As touching the *thirde* point, the primacy of the pope, I nothing meddle in the mater. Trough it is, as I told you, when ye desired me to shew you what I thought therin, I was my self sometime not of the minde that the primacy of that se, should be begun by thinstitution of god, vntil that I red in that mater those thinges that the kinges highnes had written in his most famous boke against the heresies of *Martine Luther*.



*Luther.* At the first reding wherof, I moued the kinges highnes, either to leaue out that point, or els to touch it more slenderly, for dout of such thinges as after might hap to fal in question betweene his highnes & some pope, as betweene princes & popes diuers times haue done. Wherunto his highnes aunswered me, that he would in no wise any thing minishe of that matter, of which thing his highnes shewed me a secret cause, whereof I neuer had any thing herd before. But surely after that I had red his graces boke therein, & so many other thinges as I haue sene in that point by this continuance of this vii. yeres sins & more, I haue founden, in effect the substans of al that holy doctours fro saint *Ignatius* disciple of saint *John* the euangelist vnto our owne daies both latins & grekes, so consonant & agreing in that point, and the thing by such general counsailes so confirmed also, that in good faith I neuer neither red nor hard any thing of such effect on the tother side, that euer could lead me to think that my conscience wer well discharged, but rather in right gret perill, if I shoulde follow the tother side & deny the primacy to be prouided bi god. Which if we did, yet can I nothing (as I shewed you) perceiue any commodite that euer could come by that denial. For that the primacy is at the least wise instituted by the corps of Christendome, & for a gret urgent cause in auoiding of scismis, & corroborate by continual succession more than the space of a thousande yere at the lest (for there are passed almost a thousand yeres sith the time of holy saint *Gregory*.) And therefore sith al cristendome is one corps, I cannot perceiue how any membre therof, may withoute the comon assent of the body, depart from the comon hedde. And than if we maye not lawfully leue it by our self, I cannot perceiue

ceiue but if the thing wer a treating in a generall counsaile, what the question could auaille, whither the primacy wer instituted immediately by god, or ordeined by the church. As for the generall counsailes assembled lawfully, I neuer could perceiue but that in the declaracion of the truth, it is to be beleued & to be standen to, the aucthoritie wherof ought to be taken for vndoutable. Or els were there in nothing no certeintie, but thorough cristendome vpon euery mans affectionate reasonal thinge might be brought fro day to day into continuall ruffle & confusion. From which by the general counsailes, the spirite of god assisting euery such counsell wel assembled, kepeth & euer shall kepe the corps of his catholick church. And verely sith the kinges highnes hath (as by the boke of his honorable counsaile appeareth) appeled to the general counsaile from the Pope, in which counsaile I beseeche our lord sende his grace comfortable spede, me thinketh in my pore minde it coulde be no furtherance thereunto his graces cause, if his highnes should in his own realme before, either by lawes making or bokes putting forth, seme to derogate & deny, not onely the primacye of the see apostolike, but also the aucthorite of the general counsailes to. Which I verely truste his highnes intendeth not. For in the next general counsaile it may well happen, that this pope may be deposed & another substitute in his rome, with whom the kinges highnes may be very wel content. For albeit that I haue for mine own part such opinion of the popes primacie as I haue shewed you, yet neuer thought I the pope aboue the general counsaile, nor neuer haue in anye boke of mine, put forth among the kinges subjects in our vulgare tonge, auauanced gretly the Popes auctorite. For albeit that a man maye peraduenture finde therein, that

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after the comen maner of al cristen realmes, I speke of him as primate, yet neuer do I stick theron with resoning & prouing of that point. And in mi booke against the *Masker*, I wrote not I wote wel v. times & yet of no mo but only saint *Peter* himself, from whose person many take not the primacy, euen of those that graunt it none of his successours. And yet was that boke made, printed, & put forth of very trouth, before that any of the bokes of the counsaile was either printed or spoken of. But wheras I had written therof at length in my confutation before, & for the prooffe thereof had compiled together all that I coulde finde therefore, at such times as I little looked that there should fall betwene the kinges highnes & the pope, such a breche as is fallen sins, whan I after that sawe the thinge likely to draw toward such displeasure betwene them, I suppressed it vtterly, & neuer put worde therof into my booke, but put out the remenant without it. Which thing well declared, that I neuer entended any thing to medel in that mater against the kinges gracious plesure, whatsoeuer mine owne oppinion were therein. And thus haue I good maister *Cromwel*, long troubled your maistership, with a long proces of these matters with which I neither durste, nor coulde it become me, to encomber the kinges noble grace. But I beseeche you for our lordes loue, that ye be not so wery of my most comberouse sute, but that it may like you at such opportune tyme, or times as your wisdom may finde, to help that his highnes may by your goodnes, be fully enformed of my true faithful minde, that he may the rather by the meanes of your wisdom, & dexterite consider that in the mater of the nonne, there was neuer on my parte any other minde than good: nor yet in any other thing elles, neuer was there, nor  
euer

neuer shall there be, any further faute founde in me, than that I cannot in euery thing thinke the the same way that some other men of more wisdom, & deeper learning do: nor can finde in mine hart otherwise to say, than as mine owne conscience gyueth me. Which condicion hath neuer growne in any thing that might touch his gracious pleasure, of any obstinate minde or misse affectionate appetite, but of a timerouse conscience, rising happely for lakke of better parceyuing, & yet not without tender respects vnto my most bounden duty towards his noble grace: Whose only fauour I so much esteeme, that I nothing haue of mine owne in al this worlde except only my soule, but that I will with better wyll forgo it, than abyde of hys highnes one heauye displeasent loke. And thus I make an ende of my long troubelous proces, beseching the blessed trinite for that great goodnes ye shewed me, & the gret comfort ye doe me, bothe bodely & ghostely, to prosper you & in heauen rewarde you.



N<sup>o</sup> V.

*Sir Thomas More's Letter to his daughter Mrs. Margaret Rooper on his first being made Prisoner in the Tower of LONDON, on Fryday the 17th day of April, 1534.*

**W**Hen I was before the lordes at *Lambeth*, I was the first that was called in, albeit that maister doctour the vicar of *Creidon* was come before



before me, & divers other. After the cause of my sending for, declared unto me, (whereof I somewhat meruailed in my mind, considering that they sent for no mo temporall men but me) I desired the sight of the othe, which they shewed me under the great seale. Than desired I the sight of the act of the succession, which was deliuered me in a printed rol. After which redde secretly by my self, and the othe confidred with the acte, I shewed unto them, that my purpose was not to put any faute, either in the act or any man that made it, or in the othe or any man that sware it, nor to condempne the conscience of any other man. But as for my self in good fayth my conscience moued me in the matter, that though I would not deny to swere to the succession, yet unto that othe that there was offered me, I could not swere without the iubarding of my soule to perpetual dampnation. And that if they doubted whither I did refuse the othe onely for the grudge of my conscience, or for any other fantasy, I was ready therein to satisfy them be myne oth. Which if they trusted not, what should they be the better to give me any othe. And if they trusted that I would therein swere true, than trusted I that of their goodnes they would not moue me to swere the othe that they offred me, perceiving that for to swere it, was against my conscience. Unto this my lord chaunceller saide, that they all were verye forye to here me saye thus, and se me thus refuse the othe. And they sayde all, that on theyre saythe I was the very fyrst that ever refused it: which would cause the kinges highnes to conceue great suspicion of me & great indignacion toward me. And therwith they shewed me the roll, and let me se the names of the lordes & the commons which had sworne & subscribed their names alredy. Which notwithstanding when they

they saw that I refused to sweare the same my self, not blaming any other man that had sworne, I was in conclusion commanded to goe downe into the gardein. And thereupon I taried in the olde burned chambre that loketh into the gardein, and would not goe downe because of the heate. In that time saw I mayster doctour *Lattemer* come into the gardein, & there walked he with diuers other doctours & chapleins of my lorde of *Canterburie*. And very mery I saw him, for he laughed, & toke one or twaine aboute the nekke so handsomely, that if they had ben women, I would have went he had ben waxen wanton. After that came maister doctour *Wilson* forth from the lordes, and was with twoo gentilmen brought by me, and gentilmanly sent streight unto the towre. What time my lord of *Rocheſter* was called in before them, that can I not tell. But at night I hard that he had ben before them, but where he remained that night, and so forthe till he was sent hither, I neuer hard. I hard also that maister vicare of *Croydon*, and all the remenant of the priestes of *London* that were sent for, wer sworne: and that they had such fauour at the counsels hande, that they were not lingered, nor made to dance any long attendance to their trauaile & cost, as sutours were sometime wont to be, but were spedde a pace to their gret comfort: so farre forth that maister vicar of *Croidon*, either for gladnes or for drines, or els that it might be sene, *Quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lordes buttry barre, & called for drinke, & dranke *valde familiariter*. When they had played their pageant, & were gone out of the place, than was I called in againe. And than was it declared unto me, what a nomber had sworne euer sins I went aside gladly without any sticking. Wherein I laid no blame in no man, but for my own self

self answered as before. Now as well before as than, they somewhat laide unto me for obstinacye, that whereas before, sith I refused to swere, I woulde not declare any speciall part of that othe that grudged my conscience, and open the cause wherefore. For thereunto I had said unto them, that I feared least the kinges highnes would as they sayde, take displeasure inough toward me for the only refusel of the othe. And that if I should open & disclose the causes why, I should therewith but further exasperate hys highnes, which I woulde in no wise do, but rather wold I abyde all the daunger & harme that might come toward me, than gyve hys highnes any occasion of further displeasure, than the offering the othe unto me of pure necessitie constrained me. Howbeit when they diuers times imputed this to me for stubberness & obstinacy, that I would neither swere the othe, nor yet declare the causes why, I declined thus farre toward them, that rather than I would be accompted for obstinate, I wold upon the kinges gracious licens, or rather his such commandement had, as might be my sufficient warrant, that my declaracion should not offend his highnes, nor put me in the daunger of anye of hys statutes, I woulde be content to declare the causes in writing, & ouer that to giue an othe in the beginning that if I might find those causes by any man in such wise answered, as I might thinke mine own conscience fatisfied, I would after that with all mine hart swere the principal othe to. To this I was answered, that though the kinge woulde giue me licens under his letters patent, yet wold it not serue against the statute. Wherto I said, that yet if I had them, I wold stand to the trust of his honour at my paryl for the remenaunt. But yet thinketh me loe, that if I maye not declare the causes without perill, than  
to



to leaue them undeclared is no obftinacye. My lord of *Canterbury* taking hold upon that that I faide, that I condemned not the consciences of them that fware, faid unto me that it apered well, that I did not take it for a very fure thing & a certaine, that I might not lawfullye fwer it, but rather as a thing uncertain & doubtfull. But than (faid my lorde) you knowe for a certenty & a thyng without dout, that you be bounden to obey your fouerein lorde your king. And therefore are ye bounden to leaue of the dout of your unfure consciens in refufingthe othe, & take the fure waye in obeying of your prince, & fwere it. Now all was it fo, that in mine own mind me thought my felf not concluded, yet this argument femed me fodenly fo futtle, & namely with fuch authorite coming out of fo noble a prelates mouth, that I could againe aunfwere nothing thereto but only that I thought my felf I might not well do fo, becaufe that in my consciens this was one of the cafes, in which I was bounden that I fhoulde not obey my prince, fyth that whatfoeuer other folke thought in the matter (whose consciens or learning I wold not condemnpe nor take upon me to judge) Yet in my consciens the trouth femed on the other fide. Wherin I had not informed my consciens neither fodenly nor fleyhtlye, but by long leifour & diligent fearche for the matter. And of trouth if that reason may conclude, than haue we a readye way to auoide all parplexities. For in whatfoeuer matter the doctours ftand in gret dout, the kinges commandement giuen upon whither fide he lift, foyleth all the doutes. Than faid my Lotd of *Westminster* to me, that how fo-euer the matter femed unto mine owne minde, I had caufe to fere that mine owne minde was er-ronioufe, when I fe the gret counfai of the realme determine of my mind the contrary, & that there-fore,

fore, I ought to change my consciens. To that I aunswered, that if there were no mo but my selfe upon my fide, and the whole parlement upon the tother, I woulde be fore afraide to leane to mine own minde only against so many. But on the other fide, if it so be that in some thinges for which I refuse the othe, I haue as I think I haue upon my part as great a counsaile & a greater to, I am not than bounden to change my consciens, & conforme it to the counsaile of one realme, against the general counsaile of Christendome. Upon this maister Secretary as he that tenderly fauoureth me, faide & sware a gret othe, that he had leuer that his own onely sonne (which is of trouth a goodly young gentelman, & shall I trust come to much worship) had lost his hedde than that I should thus haue refused the oth. For surely the kinges highnes woulde now conceiue a great Suspicion against me, & think that the matter of the nonne of *Canterburie*, was all contriued by my drift. To which I faide that the contrary was true & well known. And whatsoeuer should mishappe me, it laye not in my power to helpe it without the perill of my soule. Than did my Lorde chauncellour repete before me my refusell unto maister Secretarye, as to hym that was going unto the kinges grace. And in reherfing, his lordship repeted again, that I denied not but was content to swere unto the succeffion. Wherunto I sayde, that as for that pointe I woulde be content, so that I might se my othe in that pointe so framyd in suche a manner as might stand with my consciens. Than said my lord: Mary maister Secretary marke that to, that he will not swere that neyther, but under some certaine maner. Verely no my Lorde quoth I, but that I wyll see it made in suche wyse fyrst, as I shal my selfe se, that I shall neyther be forsworne, nor sware againste my conscience. Surely

as to swere to the succession I see no perill. But I thought & thinke it reason that to mine owne othe I looke well my selfe, & be of counsayle also in the fashon, & neuer intended to swere for a pece, & set my hand to the whole othe. Howbeit as helpe me God, as towching the whole othe I neuer withdrewe any man from it, nor neuer aduised any to refuse it, nor neuer put nor wil put any scruple in anye mannes hedde, but leaue euery man to hys owne conscience. And me thynketh in good faith that so were it good reason that every man shoulde leaue me to myne.



N<sup>o</sup> V.

*Another Letter of Sir Thomas More to his daughter Mrs. Margaret Roper, written with a cole.*

**M**Yne owne good daughter, our lorde bethanked I am in good helthe of bodye, & in good quiet of minde: & of worldly thynges I no more desyer then I haue. I beseeche hym make you all merry in the hope of heauen. And such thynges as I somewhat longed to talke with you all, concerning the worlde to come, our Lorde put them into your myndes, as I truste he dothe & better to by hys holy spirite: who blesse you & preferue you all. Written wyth a cole by your tender louing father, who in hys pore prayers forgetteth none of you all, nor your babes, nor your nurses, nor your good husbandes, nor your good husbandes shrewde wyues, nor your fathers shrewde wyfe neither,



ther, nor our other frendes. And thus fare ye hartely well for lacke of paper.

*Thomas More knight.*



## N<sup>o</sup> VII.

*A third Letter of Sir Thomas More's to his daughter Mrs. Margaret Roper in answer to a Letter of hir's to him perswading him to take the Oath of Succession.*

Our lord blisse you.

**I**F I had not ben my derely beloued daughter at a firme & fast point, I truste in goddes greate mercy this good great while before, your lamentable letter had not a little abashed me, surely farre aboue al other thynges, of which I heare diuers times not a fewe terrible towarde me. But surely they all touched neuer so nere, nor were so greuous unto me, as to se you my well beloued childe, in such vehement piteous maner, labour to parswade unto me, the thing wherin I haue of pure necessitie for respect unto myne owne soule, so often given you so precise aunswere before. Wherein as touching the pointes of your letter, I can make none aunswere. For I dout not but you well remembre, that the matters which moue my conscience, (without declaration whereof I can nothing touche the pointes) I haue sondry times shewed you that I will disclose

close them to no man. And therefore daughter Margaret, I can in this thing no further, but like as you labour me againe to folow your mind, to desire & praye you both againe, to leaue of such labour, and with my former answeres to holde your selfe content. A deadly grief unto me, & much more deadly than to here of mine own death. (For the fere therof, I thanke our lorde, the fere of hell, the hope of heaven, & the passion of Christ dailye more & more aswage) is, that I perceiue my good sonne your husband, & you my good daughter, & my good wife, & mine other good children & innocent frendes, in gret dyspleasure & daunger of great harme thereby. The let whereof while it lyeth not in my hand, I can no further but commit all to God. *Nam in manu dei*, (saith the Scripture) *cor regis est*, & *sicut diuisiones aquarum quocunque voluerit impellit illud*. Whose hyghe goodnes I most humbly besech to enclyne the noble hart of the kinges highnes to the tender fauour of you al, & to fauour me no better than God & my self know that my faithfull hart toward hym & my daily prayour for him, do deserue. For surely if his highnes might inwardly se my true minde suche as God knoweth it is, it wold (I trust) sone aswage his high displeasure. Which while I can in this world neuer in such wise shew, but that his grace may be perswaded to beleue the contrary of me, I can no further go, but put all in the handes of him for fere of whose displeasure for the sauegard of my soule stirred by mine owne conscience, (without insectacion or reproche laieing to any other mans) I suffer & endure thys trouble. Out of which I besече him to bring me, when his wil shal be, into his endles blisse of heaven, & in the mean while, giue me grace & you both in al our agonies & troubles, deuoutly to resorte

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prostrate unto the remembrance of that bitter agony, which our sauiour suffered before his passion at the Mount. And if we diligently so do, I verely trust we shal find therein great comfort & consolacion. And thus my dere daughter the blessed spirite of Christe for his tender mercy gouerne & guide you all, to his pleasure & your weale & comfortes both body & soule,

*Your tender loving Father*

Thomas More, *knight.*



## N<sup>o</sup> VIII.

*To this last Letter maistres Margaret Rooper wrote an answer and sent it to Sir Thomas More her father, the cōpye wherof here followeth.*

**M**Yne owne deare father ; it is to me no little comfort, sith I cannot not talk with you by such means as I would, at the least way to delight my selfe among in this bytter time of your absens, by such meanes a I maye, by as often writing to you, as shal be expedient, & by reading again & againe your most fruitfull & delectable letter, the faithfull messenger of your very verteous & ghosly minde, rid from all corrupt loue of worldely thinges, and fast knitte onely in the loue of god, & desire of heauen, as becommeth a very true worshipper, & a faithfull seruant of  
god,



god, which I doute not good father holdeth his holy hand ouer you, & shall (as he hath) preferue you both body & soule (*ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*) and namely, nowe when you haue abjected all earthly consolacions, & refined your selfe willingly gladly & fully for hys loue to his holy proteccion. Farther what thinke you hath bene our comfort syns your departing from us? Surely the experiens we haue had of your life past & godly conuersacion & wholesome counsail, & vertuous example, & a surety not onely of the continuance of that same, but also a grete encrease by the goodnes of our lorde to the great reſte & gladnes of your hart, deuouide of al earthly dregges & garnished wyth the noble vesture of heauenly vertues, a pleasant palles for the holy spirite of God to rest in, who defende you, (as I doute not good father but of his goodnes he wyll) from all trouble of minde & of body & gyue me your moſte louing obedient daughter & handmaide, & all vs your children & frendes, to ſolow that that we praiſe in you, & to our onely comforte remembre & comin together of you, that we may in conſluſion mete with you mine owne dere father in the blyſſe of heauen to which our moſt mercifull lorde hath bought us with his precious blood.

Your owne moſt loving obedient daughter and bedeswoman *Margaret Roper*, which deſireth above al worldly thinges to be in *John a Woode's* ſtede to do you ſome ſervice. But we live in hope that we ſhal ſhortly receve you againe. I pray god hartely we may, if it be his holy wil.

N<sup>o</sup> IX.

*A Letter written and sent by Sir Thomas More to his daughter Maystres Rooper written the second or third day of May in the Yere of our Lord 1535. & in the 27 Yere of the raygne of Kynge Henry the 8.*

Our Lorde blisse you.

**M**Y derely beloved daughter, I doubt not but by the reason of the kynge's counsellors resortyng hither in thys tyme in which (our Lorde be theyr comfort) these fathers of the charterhouse and master *Reynolds* of *Sion* be now judged to death for treason (whose matters and causes I know not) may happen to put you in trouble and feare of mind concerning me being here prisoner, speciallye for that it is not unlikely that you have harde that I was broughte also before the counsaile here my selfe, I have thought it necessary to advertise you of the verye trouthe, to thende that you shoulde neyther conceyve more hope than the matter geveth, lest uppon another torne it might agreve your heavinessse: nor more grief and feare than the matter geveth on the tother syde. Wherefore shortly ye shall understand that on the *Frydaye* the laste daye of *Aprill* in the afternone master *Levetenaunt* came in here vnto me, & shewed me that master *Secretarye* would speake with

with me, Whereuppon I shyfted my gown, & wente out with maſter Leuetenante into the gallery to hym, where I mette manye, ſome knowen & ſome vnkowne in the waye. And in concluſion commyng into the chamber where hys maſterſhippe ſat, wyth maſter Attorney, maſter Soliciter, maſter *Bedyll* & maſter doctōr *Tregonwell*, I was offered to fitte downe with them, whiche in no wyſe I woulde. Whereupon maſter Secretary ſhewed vnto me, that he doubted not, but that I had by ſuche frendes as hyther had reſorted to me, ſene the newe ſtatutes made at the laſte ſittynge of the parlement. Whereunto I aunſwered: ye verely. Howe be it for as much as being here, I haue no conuerſacion with any people, I thought it lytle nede for me to beſtowe muche tyme vppon theym, & therefore I redeleuered the booke ſhortly, & the effect of the ſtatutes I neuer marked nor ſtudyed to putte in remembraunce. Then he asked me whyther I hadde not redde the *ſyrſte* ſtatute of them, of the kynge beyng hedde of the church. Whereunto I aunſwerde, yes. Than his maſterſhip declared vnto me, that ſythe it was nowe by acte of parlamente ordeyned, that his highnes & his heyres be, & ever of right haue bene, & parpetuallye ſhould be, ſupreme head in the earth of the church of *Englande* vnder Chriſt, the kinges pleaſure was, that thoſe of his counſayle there aſſembled, ſhould demaunde my oppinion, & what my mynd was therein. Whereunto I aunſwered, that in good ſayth I hadde truſted, that the kynges hyghneſſe would neuer haue commaunded anye ſuche queſtion to be demaunded of me, conſideryng that I euer from the beginning, well & trulye from tyme to tyme declared my mynde vnto his highneſſe: & ſince that time (I ſayd) vnto youre maſterſhippe maſter Secretary alſo, bothe by mouth & by wrytyng. And now I haue in



good faith discharged my minde of all suche matters, & neither wyll dispute kynges titles nor popes : but the kinges true faithfull subject I am, & will be, & dayly I praye for him, & al his, & for you al that are of his honorable counsaile, & for al the realm. And otherwyse than this, I neuer entende to medle. Whereunto master Secretarye answered, that he thoughte this maner of answere should not satisfy nor content the kinges highnes, but that hys grace would exact a more full answere. And his mastership added therunto, that the kinges highnes was a prince, not of rygour but of mercy & pitie. And thoughe that he had found obstinacy at some tyme in any of his subjects, yet when he shold fynde them at an other tyme conffirmable & submitte them selfe, his grace woulde shewe mercye: & that concernyng my selfe, his highnesse would be gladde to see me take such conformable wayes, as I myghte be a-brode in the worlde agayne among other menne, as I haue bene before. Whereunto I shortly (after the inwarde affeccion of my minde) answered for a very trowth, that I woulde neuer medle in the worlde agayn, to haue the world geuen me. And to the remenaunt of the matter, I answered in effect as before, shewyng that I had fullye determined with my selfe, neyther to study nor medle with anye matter of this world, but that my whole study should be, vpon the passion of Christ, & mine own passage out of this worlde. Vppon which I was commaunded to goo forth for a while, & after called in again. At which time master Secretarye sayd vnto me, that though I was a prisoner condemned to perpetual prilon, yet I was not thereby discharged of myne obedyence & allegiance vnto the kynges hyghnes. And theruppon demaunded me, whither that I thought, that the kynges grace might not exact of me such thinges

things as are conteined in the Statutes, & vpon lyke paines as he might vppon other men. Wherto I aunswered that I would not say the contrarye. Wherunto he sayde, that lykewyse as the kinges hygnesse would be gracious to them he found conformable, so his grace would folowe the course of hys lawes towarde suche as he shall fynde obstinate. And his mastership said farther, that my demeanour in that matter was a thing, that of likelyhode made other so stiffe therein as they be. Wherto I aunswerde, that I geue no manne occasion to hold any poynt one or other, nor neuer gaue anye manne aduise or counsayle therein one way or other. And for conclusion I coulde no farther go, whatsoeuer payne should come thereof. I am (quod I) the kinges true faythful subiecte, & daily bedesman & praye for his highnesse & all his & all the realme. I doo nobody no harme, I say none harme, I think none harme, but wishe euerye bodye good. And yf this be not ynouth to kepe a manne alyue, in good fayth I longe not to lyue. And I am dyinge all readye, & haue synce I came here, bene diuers tymes in the case that I thoughte to dye within one howre. And I thanke oure Lorde I was neuer forye for it, but rather forye when I sawe the pange paste. And therefore my poore bodye is at the kynges pleasure. Woulde God my death might doo hym good. After this master Secretarye saide; well ye fynde no faulte in that statute: finde you anye in any of the other statutes after? Wherto I aunswerd, Sir, whatsoeuer thyng should seme to me other than good, in anye of the other statutes or in that statute either, I woulde not declare what fault I found, nor speak thereof. Wherunto finally his mastership said ful gently, that of anye thyng that I had spoken there should no auauntage be taken. And whether he sayde

farther that there was none to be taken, I am not well remembred. But he saide that reporte should bee made vnto the kinges highnes, & hys gracious pleasure knowen. Wheruppon I was deliuered agayne to master Leuetenaunt, whiche was then called in. And so was I by master Leuetenaunt brought agayn into my chamber. And here am I yet in such case as I was, neyther better nor worse. That that shall folowe lyeth in the hande of God, whom I beseeche to put in the kynges graces mynde, that thing that may be to his high pleasure, & in mine, to minde onely the weale of my soule, with litle regard of my body, & you with al yours, & my wyfe, & al my children, & all oure other frendes, both bodily & ghostly hartely well to fare. And I pray you & them all pray for me, and take no thought whatsoever shall happen me. For I verely trust in the goodnes of god, seme it neuer so eyil to this worlde, it shall indede in another world be for the best.

Your louing father

*Thomas More knyghte.*



## N<sup>o</sup> X.

p. 1452 *Another letter written & sent by Syr Thomas*  
Col. 2. *More to his daughter maistres Rooper, written in the yeare of our lord 1535. & in the 27 yeare of the raygne of king Henry the 8.*

·Oure Lorde blesse you & all yours.

**F**Orasmuche (dearly beloued daughter) as it is likeli, that you eyther hath hard, or shortlye shall here, that the counsayle were here thys day,



day, & that I was before theym, I haue thoughte it necessarye to sende you woorde howe the matter standeth. And verely to bee shorth, I perceue little difference betwene this time & the last. For as farre as I can see, the whole purpose is, eyther too dryue me to say precisely the tone way, or elles precisely the tother. Here sate my lord of *Canterbury*, my lord chauncellour, my lord of *Suffolke*, my lord of *Wilsbyre*, & maister Secetarye. And after my coming, maister Secetarye made rehearsll in what wyse he had reported vnto the kynges hyghnes, what had been sayd by hys graces counsayle to me, & what had ben answered by me to them, at myne other being before them here last. Which thyng his maister-ship rehearsed in good fayth verye wel, as I knowledged & confessed & hertely thanked him therefore. Wherupon he added therunto, that the kinges highnes was nothing content nor satisfyed with myne aunswer, but thought that by my demeanor, I had been occasion of much grudge & harme in the realme, & that I had an obstinate mind & an euill towarde him, & that my duety was being hys subject (& so he had sent them now in hys name vpon myne allegiaunce to commaunde me) to make a playne & a terminate aunswere, whether I thoughte the statute lawfull or not. And that I shold either knowledge & confesse it lawfull, that his highnes shoulde be supreme heade of the churche of *Englande*, or elles vtter playnly my malignitie. Wherto I aunswered, that I had no malignitie, & therefore I could none vtter. And as to the matter I coulde none other aunswer make, than I had before made, whiche aunswere his maister-ship had there rehearsed. Very heauy I was that the kinges highnes should lye haue any such opinion of me. Howbeit if ther were one that had enformed his highnes, manye euill thinges of

of me that were vntrue, to whiche hys highnes for the time gave credence I wold be very fory that he should haue that opinion of me the space of one day. Howbeit if I wer sure that other shold come on the morowe, by whom his grace should know the trouth of myne innocensy, I should in the mean whyle comfort my self with consideration of that. And in lykewise nowe, though it be great heavines to me, that his highnes hathe suche opinion of me for the whyle, yet haue I no remedy to helpe it, but only to comfort my self with this consideration, that I know very well that the tyme shall come, when God shall declare my trueth toward his grace, before hym & all the worlde. And whereas it myghte happily seeme to be but small cause of coumfort, because I might take harme here fyrste in the meane whyle, I thanked God that my case was such here in this matter, thorowe the clearenesse of myne owne conscience, that though I myght haue payne, I coulde not haue harme. For a man maye in such a case lese his head & haue none harm. For I was very sure, that I had no corrupt affection, but that I had alway fro the beginning truely vsed my self, looking fyrst vpon god, & next vpon the king, accordinge to the lesson that 'hys hyghnes taught me at my fyrst cumming to his noble seruice, the most vertuous lesson that euer prince taught his seruaunt,' whose highnes to haue of me now such opinion is my greate heauines. But I haue no meane as I said to helpe it, but only coumfort my self in the meane time with the hope of that joyful day, in which my trouthe towarde hym shall well be knowen. And in this matter further I could not goe, nor other aunswer therto I coulde not make. To thys it was sayd by my lord chauncellour & master secretary both, that the kyng might  
by

by his lawes compell me to make a plain answer therto, either the one way or the tother. Wherto I answered I woulde not dispute the kynges authoritie, what his highes myght dooe in such a case. But I sayd that verely, vnder correction, it semed to me sumwhat hard. For if it so wer that my conscience gaue me agaynste the statute (wherein how my conscience geueth me I make no declaracion) than I, nothing doing nor nothing saying agaynst the statute it wer a very hard thing, to compell me to say, either precisely with it agaynste my conscience to the losse of my soule, or precisely agaynst it to the destruction of my body. To this maister Secretary said, that I had ere this when I was chauncellour, examined heretikes & theues, & other malefactours, & gaue me a great prise aboue my deseruing in that behalf. And he sayd that I than as he thought, & at the least wise bishops, did vse to examine heretikes, whether they beleued the Pope to be head of the church, & vsed to compell them to make a precise answer therto. And why shoulde not than the kynge, sith it is a law made here that his grace is head of the church here, compell men to aunswer precisely to the law here, as they dyd than concerning the Pope? I aunswered & sayde, that I protested that I intended not to defend my part, or stand in contencion. But I said ther was a difference betwene those two cases, because that at that tyme, as well here as elles where thorow the corps of christendome, the popes power was recognised for an vndouted thing: which semeth not lyke a thyng agreed in this realme, & the contrary taken for trueth in other realmes. Wherto maister Secretarye aunswered, that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as they be beheaded for the denying of this: & therefore as good reason to compell  
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them to make precise aunswere to the tone as to the tother. Wherto I aunswered, that sith in this case a man is not by a law of one realme bound in hys conscience, where there is a law of the whole corps of christendome to the contrary in matters touching belieue, as he is by a law of the whole corps, though there hadde to be made in some place a law locall to the contrary, the reasonableness or the vnreasonableness in hyndryng a man to precise aunswere, standeth not in the respect or difference betwene headdying & burnyng, but because of the difference in charge of conscience, the difference standeth betwene heading & hell. Much was there aunswered vnto this, both by maister Secretary & my lorde chauncellour, ouer long to rehearse. And in conclusion they offered me an othe, by whiche I shoulde be sworne, to make true aunswer to such things, as shoulde be asked me on the kinges behalfe, concernynge the kynes owne persone. Wherto I aunswerd, 'that verely I neuer purposed to swere any boke othe more while I liued'. Than they sayd that I was very obstinate if I would refuse that, for euery man doth it in the starre chamber & euery where. I sayd that was true: but I had not so little foresight, but that I might well conjecture what shoulde be parte of myne interrogatories; & as good it was to refuse them at the fyrst as afterward. Wherto my lord chauncellour aunswered, that he thoughte I geast trouthe, for I should see them. And so they wer shewed me, ' & they were but twayn: the fyrst, whether I had sene the statute:' the tother, 'whether I belieued it was a lawfull made statute or not.' Whervpon I refused the othe, & sayd fether by mouth, that the furst I hadde before confessed: & to the *second* I would make none aunswer: which was the end of our comunicacion, & I



was therupon sent away. In the communicacion before, it was said that it was meruayled, that I stake so much in my conscience, whyle at the vttermoſt I was not ſure therein. Wherto I ſayd, that I was very ſure, that myne own conscience ſo enformed as it is, by ſuche diligence as I haue ſo long taken therein, may ſtand with myne own ſaluacion. ‘I medle not with the conscience of them that thinke otherwiſe.’ Euery man *ſuo damno ſtat aut cadit*. I am no mannes judge. It was alſo ſaid vnto me, that if I had as lief be out of the world as in it, as I had there ſayde, why did I not than ſpeake euen playn out agaynſt the ſtatute? It appeared well that I was not content to dye, thogh I ſayd ſo. Wherto I answered as the trouth is, that I haue not been a man of ſuch holy liuing, as I myght be bolde to offer my ſelf to death leſt God for my preſumpcion might ſuffer me to fall: & therfore I put not my ſelf forward but draw backe. Howbeit, if god draw me to it himſelf, than truſte I in hys greate mercy, that he ſhall not fayle to geue me grace & ſtrength. In conſclusion maiſter Secretarye ſayde, that he lyked me this day much worſe than he dydde the laſt tyme. For than he ſaid he pitied me muche, & now he thought I meante not well. But God & I knowe both, that I meane well, & ſo I praye God doo by me. I praye you be you & myne other good frendes of good chere whatſoeuer falle of me, & take no thought for me, but pray for me, as I doo and ſhall for you & all them.

Your tender louing father,

Thomas More, knight.

N<sup>o</sup> XI.

N<sup>o</sup> XI.

P. 1454.  
col. 2.

*Syr Thomas More a litle before he was arrayned & condemned (in the yere of oure lrd. 1535. & in the xxvii. yere of the raygn of kyng Henry the eight) being shut up so close in prison in the tower that he had no penne nor inke, wrote with a cole a pistle in latine to maister Anthony Bonuyse (marchant of Luke & than dwelling in London) his olde & deare frende, & sent it unto hym, the cople whereof here foloweth.*

**A** Micorum amicissime & merito mihi charissime, salve. Quoniam mihi presagit animus, (fortasse falso, sed presagit tamen) haud diu mihi superfuturam ad te scribendi facultatem, decreui dum licet, hoc saltem epistolio significare, quantum in hoc fortunæ meæ diliquio, amicitiae tuæ iucunditate reficiar. Nam ante quidem, vir ornatissime, tametsi mirifice certe semper amore isto in me tuo delectatus sum, tamen recordanti mihi annos jam prope quadraginta perpetuum *Bonuisse* domus non hospitem, sed alumnum fuisse me, nec amicum interim vlla rependenda gratia, sed sterilem tantum amatorem prestitisse, verecundia mea profecto fecerat, ut sincera illa suauitas, quam aliqui ex amicitiae vestrae cogitatione deglutiebam, paululum quiddam pudore quodam rustico, tanquam neglectæ vicissitudinis subacesseret. Verum enimvero nunc hac me cogitatione consolor, quod  
bene

bene vicissim mihi merendi de te, nunquam se præbebat occasio. Ea siquidem amplitudo fortunæ tuæ fuit, vt commodandi tibi nullus mihi relinqueretur locus. Conscius igitur mihi non officii neglectu vicem non rependisse me, sed quia deficiebat occasio, quum jam te conspiciam, etiam sublata rependendi spe, sic in me amando & demerendo persistere, immo adeo progredi potius, & cursu quodam indefesso procurrare, vt pauci sic amicos fortunatos ambiant, quomodo tu prostratum, abjectum, afflictum & adductum carceri, *Morum* tuum diligis, amas, foues & obseruas, cum pristini pudoris mei quali quali me amaricie abluo, tum in hujus admirabilis amicitiae tuæ suauitate conquiesco. Et nescio quo pacto tam fidelis amicitiae prosperitas, videtur mihi cum hoc improspere & classis meæ naufragio propemodum paria facere: certe tollatur indignatio non amati mihi minus quam metuendi principis, quod ad reliqua pertinet propemodum plusquam paria, quippe quum illa sint inter fortunæ mala numeranda omnia. At amicitiae tam constantis possessionem, quam tam aduersus fortunæ casus non eripuit, sed ferruminauit fortius, amens profecto fuerim, inter caduca fortunæ bona si numerem. Sublimius haud dubie bonum est atq; angustius peculiari quadam dei benignitate proueniens, amicitiae tam fidelis & reslante fortuna constantis, raro concessa felicitas. Ego certe non aliter accipio atq; interpretor quam eximia dei miseratione curatum, vt inter tenues amiculos meos, tu vir talis, amicus tantus, jam longo ante tempore parareris, qui magnam istius molestiae partem, quam mihi ruentis in me fortunæ moles inuexit, tua consolatione lenires ac relesares. Ego igitur mi *Antoni* mortalium mihi omnium charissime (quod solum possum) Deum op. max. qui te mihi prouidit, obnixè deprecor, vt quando tibi talem debitorem dedit qui nunquam soluendo



do sit futurus, beneficentiam istam quam mihi quotidie tam effusus impendis ipse tibi dignetur pro sua benignitate rependere, tum vt nos ab hoc ærumnoso & procelloso seculo in suam requiem, pro sua miseratione perducatur, vbi non erit opus epistolis, vbi non destinebit nos paries, ubi non arcebit a colloquio janitor, sed cum Deo patre ingenito & vnigenito ejus filio, domino & redemptore nostro *Jesu Christo*, atq; vtriusq; spiritu ab vtroq; procedente paraclete, gaudio perfruamur eterno. Cujus interea gaudii desiderio faxit omnipotens deus, ut tibi, mi *Antoni*, mihiq; atq; vti-  
nam mortalibus vndecunq; omnibus, omnes hujus orbis opes, vniuersa mundi gloria, necnon istius quoq; dulcedo vitæ vilescat. Amicorum omnium fidissime mihiq; dilectissime (& quod prædicare jam olim soleo) oculi mei pupilla, vale. Familiam tuam totam, herili in me affectui simillimam, Christus seruet incolumem.

*T. Morus frustra fecero  
si adjiciam*

tuus. Nam hoc jam nescire non potes, quum tot beneficiis emeris. Nec ego nunc talis sum vt referat cujus sim.



N<sup>o</sup> XII.

Syr Thomas More was bebedded at the <sup>p. 145.</sup>  
 Towre-hill in London on Tewesdaye <sup>col. 2.</sup>  
 the syxte daye of July in the yere of  
 oure Lorde 1535. & in the xxvii. yere  
 of the raign of king Henry theyght. And  
 on the daye nexte before, beyng munda-  
 daye & the fyfte daye of July, he  
 wrote with a cole a letter to his daugh-  
 ter maystresse Rooper, & sente it to  
 her (which was the laste thyng that ever  
 he wrote.) The cotype whereof here fol-  
 loweth.

O Ure Lorde blesse you good daughter, & youre  
 good husbände, & youre lyttle boye, & all  
 yours, & all my children, & all my Godde chyl-  
 dren & all oure frendes. Recommende me whan  
 ye maye, to my good daughter Cicily, whom I be-  
 seche oure Lorde to coumforte. And I sende her  
 my blessing, & to all her children, & praye her  
 to praye for me. I sende her an handkercher:  
 & god coumfort my good sonne her husbände.  
 My good daughter Daunce hathe the picture in  
 parchemente, that you deliuered me from my la-  
 dye Coniers, her name is on the backeside. Shewe

Giles  
 Heron.

K her

do sit futurus, beneficentiam istam quam mihi quotidie tam effusus impendit ipse tibi dignetur pro sua benignitate rependere, tum vt nos ab hoc ærumnoso & procelloso seculo in suam requiem, pro sua miseratione perducatur, vbi non erit opus epistolis, vbi non destinebit nos paries, ubi non arcebit a colloquio janitor, sed cum Deo patre ingenito & vnigenito ejus filio, domino & redemptore nostro *Jesu Christo*, atq; vtriusq; spiritu ab vtroq; procedente paraceto, gaudio perfruamur eterno. Cujus interea gaudii desiderio faxit omnipotens deus, ut tibi, mi *Antoni*, mihiq; atq; vti nam mortalibus vndecunq; omnibus, omnes hujus orbis opes, vniuersa mundi gloria, necnon istius quoq; dulcedo vitæ vilescat. Amicorum omnium fidissime mihiq; dilectissime (& quod prædicare jam olim soleo) oculi mei pupilla, vale. Familiam tuam totam, herili in me affectui simillimam, Christus seruet incolumem.

*T. Morus frustra fecero  
si adjiciam*

tuus. Nam hoc jam nescire non potes, quum tot beneficiis emeris. Nec ego nunc talis sum vt referat cujus sim.





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 loweth.

O Ure Lorde bleffe you good daughter, & youre  
 good husbnde, & youre lyttle boye, & all  
 yours, & all my children, & all my Godde chyl-  
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 ye maye, to my good daughter Cicily, whom I be-  
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 my blessing, & to all her children, & praye her  
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 & god coumfort my good sonne her husbnde.  
 My good daughter Daunce hath the picture in  
 parchemente, that you deliuered me from my la-  
 dye Coniers, her name is on the backeside. Shewe

Giles  
 Heron.

K

her

her that I hartelye praye her, that you maye sende it in my name to her agayne, for a token from me to praye for me. I lyke spesiall wel *Dorothy Coly*, I pray you be good vnto her. I woulde wytte whether thys be she that you wrote me of. If not yet I praye you bee good to the tother, as you maye in her affliction, & to my good daughter \* *Joone Aleyn* too. Geue her I praye you some kynde aunswere, for she sued hither to me this day to pray you be good to her. I comber you good *Margaret* much, but I would be sory, if it should be any longer than to morow. For it is saint *Thomas* euen, & the vtas of saint *Peter*: & therefore to morow long I to go to god: it were a day verye mete & conuenient for me. I neuer liked your maner toward me better, than whan you † kissed me laste: for I loue when doughterly loue, & deere charitye, hath no leysure to loke to worldye curtesy. Farewell my dere chylde, & pray for me & I shall for you & all youre frendes, that we maye merelye mete in heauen. I thanke you for youre gret cost. I send now my good daughter \* *Clement* her algorisme stone, & I send her & my Godsonne & all hers, goddes blessing & myne. I praye you at time conuenient recomende me to my good sonne *John More*. I liked wel his †† naturall fashion. Our lord blesse hym & his good wyfe my louing doughter, to whom I praye him to be good as he hathe greate cause: & that if the lande of myne come

\* This was none of hys daughters nor no kynne vnto him, but one of maistres *Ropers* maydes.

† This he meant by her kissing him on the Tower-wharf when he came from Iudgment

\* This was not his daughter, but he hadde brought her vp from a chylde with his own daughters.

†† This he ment by that his sons asking him blessing when he came from Iudgment.

come to his hande, he breake not my wyll concern-  
ynge hys sifter *Daunce*. And oure Lord blisse *Thc-*  
*mas* & *Austen* & all that they shal haue.

These  
were his  
sonnes  
children

Imprinted at *London* in *Fletestrete* at the sygne  
of the *bande* & *starre* at the coste and charge  
of *John Carwood*, *John Walley*, & *Richard Turtle*

Fynysht in *Apryll* the yere of our Lorde God 1557



## N<sup>o</sup> XIII.

Thomæ Mori *Angliæ Ornamenti eximij*  
**LUCUBRATIONES** *ab innumeris*  
*mendis repurgatæ.*

*Vtopiæ Libri II.*  
*Progymnasmatæ.*  
*Epigrammata*

*Ex Luciano conversa*  
*quædam.*  
*Declamatio Lucianicæ*  
*respondens.*

## EPISTOLÆ.

*Quibus additæ sunt duæ aliorum Epistolæ de Vita,*  
*Moribus et Morte MOR I, adjuncto rerum no-*  
*tabilium Indice.*

*Basil apud Episcopium F. 1563.*

*Epistola de Morte D. Thomæ Mori et Episcopi* P. 511.  
*Roffensis insignium Virorum in Anglia.*

\* *Courinus Nucerinus Phil. Mont. I. D.* \* *Nomen*

**Q**Uoniam juxta *Pythagoræ* sententiam oportet  
omnia esse communia, recte collegit *Euri-*  
*pidēs* et dolores inter amicos oportere communes  
esse.



esse. Accipies igitur, Vir amicissime, ab amico minime læta, sed omni lachrymarum genere bonis omnibus deploranda: quanquam arbitror famam istuc jamdudum omnia pertulisse prius quam ad nos, de morte quorundam apud *Anglos* insignium virorum, sed præcipue *Thomæ Mori*, dum viveret, ejus Regni Baronis inclyti ac supremi judicis quem illi Cancellarium appellant: qua dignitate non est apud eam gentem alia major, excepto Rege, coque, quum prodit, aureum sceptrum imposita corona Cæsarea gestatur ad unum latus, ad alterum liber. Quæ vero sum narraturus partim e schedis Gallice scriptis quæ hic circumferuntur desumpti, partim e rumoribus. Nam nihil horum vidi. Sed priusquam aggrediar, paucis describam *Londoniensis* urbis situm. Civitas in latum angusta ad *Thamysin* flumen sic in longum porrecta est, ut videatur non posse desinere, unde et nomen videtur inditum: siquidem apud *Flandros* loca mari vicina *Dunen* appellant. Indidem dictum videtur Galliarum *Lugdunum*, quasi dicas longas ripas. Ad orientem in extremo habet arcem bene munitam qua reges interdum utuntur, vulgus *Turrim* appellat. Sed in eadem servari solent viri nobiles, aut alias dignitate quapiam præminentes, qui videntur aliquid adversus Regiam Majestatem deliquisse. In altero extremo ad occasum insigne Monasterium est Benedictinorum, vulgus appellat *Westmonasterium*: et huic proximum Regis Palatium structuræ veteris sed quo nunc Reges parum delectantur. Palatio adjuncta est Domus spaciosissima nullis fulta columnis, in qua sedent Judices. Utrunque ædificium flumini imminet ut hinc illinc cymba vehi possint. In hac arce *Thomas Morus* posteaquam multis mensibus fuisset captivus, *Calend. Julij*s anno Domini MDxxxv, productus est ad modo dictam Curiam, capitis causam dicturus apud tribunal Judicum a Rege delegatorum, Ibat

reus

reus baculo innixus tam longam viam, corpore gravi ægrotatione in carcere debilitato, nihil tamen perturbationis vultu præ se ferens. Primum recitati sunt articuli criminum quæ illi obiciebantur. Mox Cancellarius qui *Moro* successit, ac Dux *Nortfordij* hunc in modum reum appellarunt. En vides, Magister *More*, sic appellant mediocri dignitate præditos, te graviter deliquisse in Regiam Majestatem. Attamen speramus te, si modo resipiscas et abjures istam obstinatum opinionem in qua hæctenus tam procaciter perstitisti, Veniam a Regis clementia consequuturum. Ad hæc *Morus*. ' Domini mei, ego summo cordis affectu ago vobis ' gratias pro ista vestra amica erga me voluntate : ' tantum illud oro Deum omnipotentem, confir- ' mare dignetur me in hac qua nunc sum sententia, ' ut in ea perseverem usque ad mortem. Cæterum ' quum reputo quam prolixi quamque graves arti- ' culi sunt quibus oneror, vereor ne mihi nec in- ' genium suppetat nec inemoriâ, nec oratio quæ ' sufficiat ad respondendum omnibus, præsertim ' quum in carcere tam diu fuerim detentus in quo ' gravi ægrotatione contraxi corporis debilitatem, ' quæ me nunc etiam habet.' Tum jussu Judicum allata est sella in qua federet. Ubi consedisset, prosequutus est institutum sermonem hunc in modum. ' Quod ad primum attinet articulum, qui I. ' conatur ostendere meam in Regem malevolentiam ' in negotio posterioris matrimonij, confiteor in- ' genue me semper restitisse illius serenissimæ Ma- ' jestati. Nec est animus super hoc negotio quic- ' quam aliud dicere quam quod hæctenus semper ' dixi, ad hoc urgente me conscientia : per quam ' ut non debebam, ita nec volebam principem me- ' um celare veritatem. Nec hic est ulla proditio ' quæ intenditur, quin potius ni id fecissem, præser- ' tim in re tanti momenti unde pendebat mea senten- ' tia et Principis honos et regni tranquillitas, tum

‘ vere fuiffem, quod nunc objicitur, malevolus,  
 ‘ perfidus ac proditor. Ob hoc delictum, fi modo  
 ‘ delictum appellandum eft, graviffimas dedi pœ-  
 ‘ nas, exutus omnibus facultatibus meis, ac perpæ-  
 ‘ tuo addictus carceri in quo menses jam quindecim  
 ‘ totos fui detentus. Sed, his omiffis, tantum ad  
 ‘ ea respondebo quæ funt hujus negocij præcipua.’

‘ Quod objicitur me incurriffe in pœnam viola-  
 ‘ tæ constitutionis quæ proximo concilio prodita  
 ‘ eft, me jam in carcere agente, quafi malitiofo  
 ‘ animo perfidiofe ac proditorie Regiæ Majestati  
 ‘ detraxerim famam, honorem ac dignitatem, quæ  
 ‘ illi per dictam constitutionem erat tributa, vide-  
 ‘ licet quod ibi declaratur fub Jefu Christo fupre-  
 ‘ mum Caput Ecclefie Anglicanæ : in primis re-  
 ‘ fpondebo ad hoc quod mihi objicitur, quod Do-  
 ‘ mino Secretario Regis ac venerabili Majestatis  
 ‘ illius confilio rogatus quæ mea effet de hoc edi-  
 ‘ cto fententia nihil aliud voluerim respondere  
 ‘ quam me jam mundo mortuum effe, nec iftius-  
 ‘ modi negocijs amplius follicitari, fed tantum  
 ‘ meditari in paffione Domini noftri Jefu Chrifti.  
 ‘ Dico me per iftam veftram constitutionem ob hoc  
 ‘ filentium non poffe damnari capitis, eo quod  
 ‘ nec veftrum edictum, nec ullæ Leges mundi pof-  
 ‘ funt quenquam ob filentium addicere morti, fed  
 ‘ tantum ob dictum aut perpetratum facinus. De  
 ‘ occultis enim folus judicat Deus.’ Ad hæc re-  
 ‘ fpondit Procurator Regius interpellans ; ‘ At  
 ‘ tale filentium, inquit, evidens argumentum eft  
 ‘ animi male fentientis de jam dicta constitutione.  
 ‘ Nam omnis fubditus fyncerus ac fidelis Regiæ  
 ‘ Majestati, fi de dicta constitutione interrogetur,  
 ‘ tenetur et obligatur citra omnem diffimulationem  
 ‘ respondere categorice : Regium edictum effe  
 ‘ bonum, juftum ac fanctum.’ Ad quæ *Morus*.  
 ‘ Si verum eft quod habetur in Legibus, eum qui  
 ‘ tacet videri confentire, meum filentium confir-  
 mavit



‘mavit potius vestram constitutionem quam impro-  
bavit. Jam quod dicis omnem subditum fidelem  
obligari ut respondeat categorice si interrogetur  
&c. Respondeo bonæ fidei subditum magis ob-  
ligatum esse DEO conscientia et animæ suæ  
quam ulli alij rei in hoc mundo, maxime si talis  
conscientia, qualis est mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil  
seditionis pariat domino suo. Nam illud pro  
certo vobis affirmo, quod nulli mortalium unquam  
detexerim hac in re conscientiam meam.’

‘Venio nunc ad secundum accusationis caput, II.  
quo arguor contra dictam constitutionem molitus  
ac machinatus fuisse, eo quod ad *Roffensem* scrip-  
serim octo paria epistolarum quibus illum anima-  
rim adversus istud edictum. Equidem vehemen-  
ter optarim eas epistolas hic proferri ac recitari,  
quæ me vel convincerent vel liberarent. Cæterum  
quando illæ, quemadmodum prædicatis, per E-  
piscopum exustæ sunt, ipse non gravabor recitare  
sententiam earum. In earum quibusdam agebatur  
de nostris privatis negocijs pro vetere nostra  
amicitia ac familiaritate. In una quadam con-  
tinebatur responsum ad Episcopi literas quibus  
scire cupiebat quid et quo pacto respondissem  
de ista constitutione. Ad id nihil aliud rescripti,  
nisi me jam meam composuisse conscientiam ipse  
componeret suam. Animæ meæ periculo, ac  
teste Deo vobis assevero nihil aliud in illis literis  
a me scriptum fuisse. Harum igitur causa non  
possum per vestram constitutionem addici morti.’

‘Supereft *tertius* articulus qui intendit quod III.  
quum de vestra constitutione examinerer, dixerim  
eam esse similem gladio utrinque secanti, prop-  
terea quod si quis vellet eam servare perderet  
animam, si contradiceret perderet corpus. Idem,  
quoniam, ut dicitis, respondit Episcopus *Roffensis*,  
perspicuum esse inter nos fuisse conspiracyem.

‘ Ad hæc respondeo, me nunquam fuisse loquutum  
 ‘ nisi conditionaliter: sic videlicet, si tale esset  
 ‘ edictum qualis est gladius utrinque incidens, quo  
 ‘ pacto posset quis evitare quin in alterum incideret  
 ‘ periculum. Hæc mea fuit oratio. Quomodo  
 ‘ responderit Episcopus, nescio. Si illius oratio  
 ‘ cum mea congruebat id nequaquam accidit ex  
 ‘ conspiratione, sed potius ex ingeniorum ac doct-  
 ‘ rinæ similitudine. Breviter illud pro certo ha-  
 ‘ betote, me nunquam quicquam malitiose fuisse  
 ‘ loquutum adversus vestram constitutionem: at  
 ‘ fieri potuit ut ad benignam Regis clementiam  
 ‘ aliquid malitiose fuerit delatum.’

Post hæc vocati sunt per quendam ex ostiarijs  
 duodecim viri, juxta gentis illius consuetudinem  
 quibus traditi sunt articuli ut super illis consulta-  
 rent, ac post consultationem judicarent ac pronun-  
 ciarent utrum *Thomas Morus* malitiose obstitisset  
 prædictæ constitutioni Regis an non. Qui quum  
 per horæ quartam partem secessissent reversi sunt  
 ad principes ac judices delegatos, ac pronuncia-  
 runt † *Guilty* † *Killim*, hoc est dignus est morte. Ac mox  
 per D. Cancellarium lata est sententia juxta teno-  
 rem novæ constitutionis. His ita peractis, *Thomas*  
*Morus* hunc in modum orsus est loqui. ‘ Age,  
 ‘ quando sum condemnatus, quo jure DEUS novit,  
 ‘ ad exonerandam conscientiam volo liberius eloqui  
 ‘ quod sentio de vestra constitutione. Primum  
 ‘ illud dico me septem annis intendisse animum  
 ‘ studiumque meum in istam causam, verum hæc-  
 ‘ enus in nullo Doctorum ab Ecclesia probatorum  
 ‘ reperi scriptum quod Laicus, aut, ut vocant, Se-  
 ‘ cularis, possit aut debeat esse Caput Status Spiri-  
 ‘ tualis aut ecclesiastici.’ Hic Cancellarius inter-  
 rumpens *Mori* sermonem, ‘ Domine *More*, inquit,  
 ‘ itane tu vis haberi sapientior, melioris que con-  
 ‘ scientiæ omnibus Episcopis, tota nobilitate, toto  
 denique

denique regno? Ad quæ *Morus*, 'Domine, inquit, Cancellarie, pro uno Episcopo quem habes tuæ opinionis, ego sanctos et orthodoxos viros habeo centum mecum sentientes, et pro unico vestro concilio, quod quale sit DEUS novit, pro me habeo omnia Concilia generalia annis abhinc mille celebrata: et pro uno regno habeo *Franciam* cæteraque orbis Christiani regna omnia.' Hic Dux *Nortfordij* interpellans: 'Nunc *More*, *Norfolchie* inquit, perspicue liquet tua malevolentia.' Ad quæ *Morus*, '\*Milordt, sic Angli compellant insigni \**My Lord?* dignitate præstantes, ut hoc loquar non incitat malevolentia, sed cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam, teste DEO qui solus scrutatur corda hominum. Præterea dico et illud, constitutionem vestram esse perperam factam, eo quod vos professi estis et jurejurando vosmet ipsos obstrinxistis nihil unquam molituros adversus sanctam Ecclesiam quæ per universam ditionem Christianam unica est integra et individua, neque vos soli ullam habetis auctoritatem citra aliorum Christianorum consensum condendi legem, aut instituendi concilium adversus unionem et concordiam Christianitatis. Nec me fugit quam ob rem a vobis condemnatus sim, videlicet ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assentire in negotio novi matrimonij Regis. Confido autem de divina bonitate ac misericordia fore ut quemadmodum olim *Paulus Stephanum* persecutus est usque ad mortem, et tamen iisdem nunc unanimes sunt in cœlo, ita nos qui nunc discordes sumus in hoc mundo, in futuro seculo pariter simus concordēs et perfecti charitate unanimes. Hac spe fretus precor DEUM ut vos servet una cum Rege, eique dare dignetur bonos consultores.' His ita peractis, *Thomas Morus* reductus est in Turrim. Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius. *Margaret* filiarum *Mori* natu maxima, mulier



lier præter eximiam formæ venustatem cum summa  
 dignitate conjunctam, judicio, ingenio, moribus et  
 eruditione Patris simillima, per mediam populi  
 turbam, perque Satellitum arma semet injecit et  
 ad parentem penetravit. Quum et mulier esset,  
 et natura cum primis verecunda, tamen et metum  
 et pudorem omnem excusserat impotens animi  
 dolor, cum audisset Patrem in Curia morti addictum  
 esse. Hoc accidit priusquam *Morus* arcis portam  
 ingrederetur. Ibi in charissimi Parentis collum  
 irruens arctissimo complexu aliquandiu tenuit eum.  
 Cæterum ne verbum quidem interim potuit pro-  
 loqui. *Curæ*, inquit Tragicus, *leves loquuntur, in-*  
*gentes stupent.* Movit stipatores, tametsi duos,  
 hoc spectaculum. Horum itaque permissu *Morus*  
 his verbis consolatus est filiam. *Margareta*, pa-  
 tienter feras, nec te discrucies amplius. Sic est  
 voluntas DEI. Jampridem nosti secreta cordis  
 mei. Simulque dedit osculum ex consuetudine  
 gentis si quem dimittunt. At illa cum digressa esset  
 ad decem vel duodecim passus, denuo recurrit, et  
 amplexa parentem rursus inhæsit collo illius, sed  
 elinguis præ doloris magnitudine. Cui pater nihil  
 loquutus est, tantum erumpebant lachrymæ, vultu  
 tamen a constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud su-  
 premis verbis mandavit quam ut DEUM pro  
 anima Patris deprecaretur. Ad hoc pietatis cer-  
 tamen plurimis e populari turba lachrymæ exci-  
 dere. Erant et inter satellites, ferum et immitte  
 genus hominum, qui lachrymas tenere non potue-  
 runt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo  
 valida res sit, ut immitissimas etiam feras moveat.  
 Hic apud se quisque reputet quam valido ariete  
 tum pulsatum sit *Thomæ Mori* pectus. Erat enim  
 erga suos omnes *etiam* ut non alius magis:  
 sed eam filiam ut erat eximijs prædita dotibus, ita  
 diligebat impensius. *Morum* fortiter excepisse sen-  
 tentiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus  
 admirandum

admirandum existimo quam pietatem erga suos potuisse vincere. Nihil enim addubito quin hic doloris gladius crudelius vulneravit *Mori* præcordia quam illa carnificis securis quæ collum amputavit.

Die Mercurij sequente, hoc est septimo die *Julij* productus est in planiciem quæ est ante arcem. Mos est illic ut afficiendi supplicio de ponte plebem alloquantur. At *Morus* paucissimis verbis est usus, tantum orans qui aderant ut pro ipso Deum orarent in hoc mundo, se vicissim in altero mundo precaturum pro ipsis. Mox hortabatur atque instantur rogabat, orarent DEUM pro Rege ut illi dignaretur impertire bonum consilium, contestans se mori fidelem ac bonum Regis ministrum, ac DEI in primis. Hæc loquutus prompte constanti que vultu flexis genibus cervicem posuit securim excepturus, non sine gravi multorum gemitu. Erat enim bonis omnib. charissimus.

Quæ hæcenus narravi fere continebantur in schæde apud *Parisijs* jactata, ac per manus hominum volitante; quisquis autem scripsit, videtur actis interfuisse. Quæ deinceps referam, partim ex amicorum literis, partim e rumoribus accepi. Paucis ante diebus, hoc est xv. Cal. *Julias Joannes Phis-*  
*cherus* Episcopus *Roffensis* qui tum vitæ sanctimo-  
 tia atq; austeritate, tum administrandis sacramentis,  
 tum assiduitate docendi voce simul et scriptis, denique mira liberalitate in egenos, benignitate in studiosos, verum agebat Episcopum, ex arce dicta in qua captivus tenebatur productus est, et ad Curiam, quæ ut ante dixi *Westmonasterio* proxima est, frequenti satellitum armatorum stipatu perductus est, partim navigio, partim equo, ob corpusculi debilitatem quam præter ætatem auxerat carceris incommoditas, licet ipse valetudinem suam semper et jejunijs et vigilijs et studijs et laboribus ac lacrymis vehementer attenuasset. Ille vero tametsi non ignoraret ejus cognitionis exitum, nihil tamen perturbatus

*John  
Fisher.*

perturbatus est, sed placido ac prope etiam ad hilaritatem composito vultu ad tribunal evocantibus paruit. Ibi juxta morem ejus regionis quem antea descripsi, sententia capitali damnatus est, supplicium daturus simulatq; Regi visum esset. Hoc adjectum suspicor, si forte spe veniæ ac supplicij metu posset a sententia deduci. Mortis genus erat et foedum et horribile, quo tamen fuerant affecti Cartusiani aliquot, quos aiunt fuisse quindecim, quod ut credam vix possum adduci. Cartusianis adjunctus est *Reginaldus* monachus *Brigittensis*, vir angelico vultu, et angelico spiritu, sanique judicij quod ex illius colloquio comperi, quum in comitatu Cardinalis *Campegij* versarer in *Anglia*. Nam Cartusianorum novi neminem. Aiunt ex his quosdam fuisse per viam tractos, dein suspensos laqueo, ac spirantibus etiamnum execta intestina: quosdam etiam exustos igni, sed omnium incredibilem fuisse constantiam. Solet rumor rebus tristibus aliquid addere. At si hic verus est, videtur hoc esse consilium eorum qui regio obsecundant animo, ut immanitate suppliciorum cæteros absterreant. Nam facile divinabant institutum plurimis improbatum iri, præsertim Ecclesiasticis, et religionis studio deditis. Sed ad *Roffensem* Episcopum redeo. Is, accepta tam horrendæ mortis sententia, quum satellitibus stipatus reduceretur in arcem, ut ad Ostium ventum est versus ad satellites hilari placidoque vultu, plurimam, inquit, optimi viri, vobis habeo gratiam pro officio quo me euntem et redeuntem deduxistis. Dixisses hominem ex hilari suavique redire convivio, adeo ut color erat jucundior, et ipse toto corporis gestu, quatenus per gravitatem licuit, lætitiâ quandam præ se ferebat, ut nemini non esset perspicuum sanctissimum virum, ceu jam portui vicinum, toto pectore ad illam beatam tranquillitatem aspirare. Nec diu dilata est mors. Ad decimum *Cal. Julij* productus in Planiciem,



Planiciem, quam Angli vulgo dicunt Turris-collem, vultu non solum constanti, verumetiam alacri, paucis alloquutus est populum. Primum Regi Regnoque bene precatus est. Mox ardenti magis quam proluxa precatione se ipsum DEI misericordiæ commendavit. simulque procumbens in genua, gracili et exhausta cervice securim excepit. Neque enim apud Anglos carnifices gladio cervicem incidunt, sed damnato in truncum ad id apparatus inclinanti securi caput amputant. Quanto cum animi dolore viderint hoc spectaculum quibus religio pietasq; cordi est, et qui Christi spiritum in pastore operantem experti fuerant, facile quivis ex sese poterit æstimare. Cæterum quod mitiore pœna affectus est quam minabatur Judicum sententia, sunt qui in causa fuisse putent, quod metuerint ne senex et exhausto corpusculo, si per viam tam longam rheda traheave tractus fuisset, sponte expiraret. Ego suspicor ob hoc mortis genus atrocius denunciatum, ut immanitate supplicij territus mutaret sententiam. Nec desunt qui prædicant ob hoc ipsum acceleratam mortem, quod Ro: Pontifex *Paulus* tertius Episcopum *Roffensem* ob insignem doctrinam ac pietatem in Cardinalium ordinem elegisset. Ex amicorum literis cognovi in *Germania* inferiore sparsum rumorem quum Episcopi *Roffensis* caput esset in ponte *Londoniensi* de more expositum, non solum non emarcuisse verumetiam magis effloruisse, vivoque factum similis, ut multi crederent fore ut etiam loqui inciperet: quod in quibusdam martyribus factum legimus. Ea res, seu fama quum vulgo increbuisse, sublatum est atque abditum: Populus enim credulus sæpe levi quapiam occasione turbas ingentes excitat. At veriti ne idem eveniret in capite *Mori*, priusquam exponeretur, aqua ferventi decoctum est, quo plus haberet horroris. Hæc aliaque multa his similia perscribuntur e *Flandria Britannis* viciniore; penes alios

alios sit fides. Utinam huc pervenissent acta *Roffensis*, quemadmodum Acta *Mori* pervenerunt. Ex *Mori* responsis facile liquet illum destinasse mori citius quam suæ sententiæ canere palinodiam. Quo animo videntur omnes fuisse qui ante *Morum* extincti sunt. *Morum* et *Roffensem* et illud movit opinor, quod qui bene natos, laute educatos, in honore habitos in carcere detinet, non dat vitam, sed longiorem et acerbiorē mortem. Ego si Regi fuisset in consilio, pro mea stultitia conatus fuisset illi persuadere, ut pro sua solita clementia cœterisque virtutibus, per quas nomen ipsius hætenus erat apud omnes nationes gratiosum et amabile, ab illis *Britanniæ* luminibus totiq; orbi notis abstineret, aut certe pœna mitiore contentus esset. Rursus, si qui perierunt me adhibuissent in consilium, suavissem ne se irruenti procellæ palam opponerent. Violenta res ira regum, cui si incommode resistas, graviores excitat tumultus. Equi feroces quemadmodum et tonitrua non vi sed popysmate leniuntur. Et nautæ non pugnant adversus impotentem tempestatem, sed vel quiete vel obliquis cursibus utentes expectant cœlum commodius. Multis rebus medetur tempus, quas nulla vi possis emendare. Res humanæ semper quidem fluctuant, sed quoties incidit insignis aut fatalis rerum mutatio, multi periclitantur qui non cedunt turbini. Veluti quum *Julius Cæsar* aperiret januam tyrannidi, et Triumviri junctis copiis Imperium Orbis occuparent, laudatissimi quique viri perierunt, quorum erat et *M. Tullius*. Qui monarchis serviunt ijs quædam dissimulanda sunt, ut si non queant obtinere quod judicaverunt optimum, saltem aliqua ex parte moderentur principum affectus. Dixerit aliquis pro veritate mortem optendum. At non pro quavis veritate. Si tyrannus jubeat, aut abjura Christum, aut pone cervicem: ponenda cervix. Sed aliud est silere, aliud abjurare.

abjurare. Si fas est te dissimulare Christianum citra grave scandalum, multo magis licuisset hic esse tacitum. Sed inepte facio qui de rebus tam arduis disputem, qui nunquam interfuerim monarcharum consilijs. Itaque de tota causa iudicium alijs relinquo. Illud satis constat eos viros si quid peccarint, nulla in Regem malevolentia peccasse, sed simplici synceraque conscientia errasse. Hoc sibi penitus persuaferant, hoc medullis infixum habebant sanctum, pium, Regi honorificum, Regno salutare esse quod tuebantur. Argumento est quod nullus illorum affectarit Regnum, aut alteri asserere conatus sit, nec ullam molitus sit seditionem, aut ullas contraxerit copias, ac ne verbum quidem excidit odium conspirationemve respiciens. Silere cupiebant si licuisset, sed patienter ac placide mortem exceperant, nihil aliud quam Regi Regnoque bene precantes. At in atrocibus etiam criminibus magnam culpæ partem simplex ac pura conscientia, animusque non lædendi, sed bene merendi cupidus. Tum apud efferas etiam nationes frequenter eximiae virtuti, præstantiq; doctrinæ honos est habitus. *Platon* apud *Aeginetas* juxta civitatis constitutionem, capite plectendo, profuit Philosophi cognomen. *Diogenes* impune penetravit in castra *Philippi* regis *Macedonum* ad quem pro exploratore adductus, libere exprobravit Regi infamiam quod non contentus suo regno, semet conjiceret in periculum ne perderet omnia. Non impune tantum, sed etiam cum munere dimissus est, non ob aliud nisi quod esset Philosophus. Quemadmodum monarcharum in eruditos benignitas plurimum honesti nominis illis conciliat, ita durius tractati plurimum invidiæ constant illis. De his præcipue loquor qui scriptis inclaruerunt apud omnes nationes, et quorum memoria videtur apud posteros futura gratiosa. Quis nunc non execratur *Antonium* qui *Ciceronem* ferro peremit? Quis non detestatur



detestatur *Neronem* qui *Senecam* occiderit? Nec minimum gratiæ decessit *Octavij Cæsaris* nomini quod *Ovidium* ad *Getas* relegarit. Hæc nequaquam eo mihi dicuntur ut Regem Christianum cum impijs principibus conferam, aut de negotio cujus circumstantias non novi pronunciem, quod etiam si periculum abesset, temerarium esset: sed ut ostendam quibus rationibus fuerim conaturus persuadere ut Rex parcendo viris pietatis et eruditionis commendatione jam immortalitati consecratis, suo quoque nomini consulere. Plausibilis semper est præpotentium clementia: sed tum clarissimos fert applausus quoties viris illustribus ac de republica bene meritis impenditur. Omne solum forti Patria est: et exilium fortibus ac præclaris viris sæpe cessit feliciter. Mortis invidia gravis est. Quum Rex Galliarum *Lodovicus XII.* regnum adeptus pararet diuortium cum *Lodovici* regis *XI.* filia, *Maria*, ni fallor, nomine, res displicuit quibusdam bonis, ex quibus *Joannes Standock* et hujus discipulus *Thomas* in concione nihil aliud dixerant, nisi DEUM orandum esse ut Regi inspiraret bonum consilium. Quæ apud populum dicuntur ad seditionem spectant: et hi deliquerant adversus Regis edictum. Rex tamen nihil aliud quam vertere solum jussit, nec quicquam ademit facultatum: at idem, negotio quod agebat confecto, revocabat eos. Hac moderatione rex ille et suo consuluit instituto, et gravem invidiam evitavit, quod uterque esset Theologus, uterque sanctitatis opinione commendatus. At *Thomæ Mori* mortem deplorant et ij quorum instituto pro viribus adversabatur: Tantus erat hominis in omnes candor, tantacomitas, tantaq; benignitas. Quem ille vel mediocriter eruditum ab se dimisit indonatum? Aut quis fuit tam alienus, de quo non studuerit bene mereri? Multi non favent nisi suis, *Galli Gallis, Germani Germanis, Scoti Scotis*: at ille in *Hybernos*,

in Germanos, in Gallos, in Scythas et Indos amico fuit animo. Hæc naturæ benignitas sic *Morum* omnium animis penitus infixit, ut non secus ac parentem aut fratrem plorent extinctum. Ipse vidi multorum lachrymas qui nec viderant *Morum*, nec ullo officio ab eo fuerant affecti: ac mihi quoque dum hæc scribo, nolenti ac repugnanti lachrymæ profiliunt. Quomodo nunc affectum credimus *Erasmum* nostrum, cui cum *Moro* tam arcta fuit amicitia, ut prorsus, juxta *Pythagoram*, in duobus eadem esse videretur anima? Equidem misere metuo ne bonus ille senex *Moro* suo commoriatur, si tamen adhuc in vivis est. Sunt qui nos consolantur hoc argumento, quod dicunt non deplorandos esse, sed gratulandum potius ijs qui tali morte vitam finierunt. Est istud fateor non leve doloris lenimen: at ego *Morum* optarim incolumem, quum omnium studiosorum gratia, tum vero præcipue familiæ causa, quam et numerosam et plane philosophicam reliquit, filium natu minimum jam maritum ac liberorum parentem, filias tres, et has nuptas ac liberorum matres, eruditas omnes, ac sub paterna disciplina ad Christianam philosophiam pulchre institutas, uxorem fidelem, ac jam anum, ex qua tamen nullam prolem sustulit. Has omnes cum sponsis, nepotibus ac neptibus in unis ædibus alebat, tanta religione, tantaque concordia, quantam non temere reperias in collegiis monachorum ac virginum. Hic mihi cogita, Vir optime, qui luctus, quæ lacrymæ, qui gemitus, qui dolores totam illam familiam conficiant. Quot egregias animas vulneravit illa securis quæ *Mori* caput amputavit? Multi demirantes rogant, quid tanti sceleris commiserit vir semper habitus innocentissimis moribus. Quibus vix habeo quod pro comperto respondeam, nisi quod partim conjicere licet ex articulis *Moro* objectis et illius responsione, partim ex amicorum literis ac fama

vulgata discere datur. Rex, ut omnibus notissimum est, aliquot annis moliebatur repudium cum Regina *Caroli Caesaris* Matertera. *Morus* præfagiens quo res esset evasura, ultro deposuit Cancellarij munus, alia quædam causatus, ne cogeretur ejus negotij exequutor esse quod apud sese non probabat. Erat enim mentis tam religiosæ, ut propior esset superstitioni quam impietati. Sic cogitabat, privato licebit quiescere: Cancellario, qui os est Regis, non licebit. Videbat fore ut cogeretur multos condemnare morte quos judicabat optimos: ad hæc exitum tanti negotij incertum esse ob Ecclesiasticorum potentiam ac gentis illius solitam in Reges ferociam. Tale si quid natum fuisset prima Victima fuisset Cancellarius. At me si *Morus* in consilium adhibuisset, quum esset tam anxie religiosa conscientia, dehortatus fuissem eum ne susciperet dignitatem. Vix enim fieri potest, ut qui in arduis Principum functionibus versantur, in magnis pariter ac parvis justiciam ad unguem observent. Proinde mihi gratulantibus quod talem haberem amicum in tanto rerum fastigio collocatum, respondere soleo, me non prius illi de ejus dignitatis accessione gratulaturum quam juberet ipse. Jam tum enim nescio quid sinistri præfagebat animus. Nec Regem arbitror latuisse quam ob causam *Morus* deponeret magistratum, utcumq; dissimulavit, quod *Homerus* indicat Monarchis esse proprium, offensio-nem in animo tegere, donec multo post tempore datur ulciscendi opportunitas. Interim Rex minis ac fulminibus *Clementis VII.* factus irritior, adjecit animum, ad vetus illius regionis exemplum, ut Regnum a jure Pontificis Romani assereret, et utriusq; status supremam potestatem sibi vendicaret. Cæterum quum sentiret plurimorum animos ab hoc instituto abhorrere, ne qua cooriretur seditio, promulgatum est edictum ut quicumque non abjuraret R. Pont. auctoritatem, aut improbaret novum matroniumim,



trimonium, capitalis esset. Verum hoc edictum non est promulgatum nisi *Roffense* et *Moro* jam ductis in custodiam. *Roffensis* semper plurimum tribuit sedi Romanæ, et adversus repudium libris etiam conscriptis pugnat, sed tum-quum adhuc integrum esset consulere. *Morus* scripsit nihil, sed pro officio quod gerebat conabatur Regis animum in eam inflectere sententiam quam putabat et DEO gratam et Regi tutam et Regno salutarem. Erat illi magna familiaritas cum Episcopo *Roffense*, tum prædium quod habebat *Morus* non procul aberat a *Richemonda*. Ibi Regio palatio vicina sunt duo Monasteria vehementer opulenta, et, quod majus est, bonæ disciplinæ, alterum *Cartusianorum*, alterum *Brigittensum*. Ab his facile crediderim sollicitatum *Mori* animum ut Ecclesiæ causam tueretur: at ipsum aliquid effutisse quod rebellionem saperet, nunquam sum crediturus, ut qui ex crebris colloquijs perspexerim admirabilem quandam hominis cautionem. Equidem vix alium Anglum comperi qui tam medullitus amarit Principem suum, aut magis ex animo bene vellet quam ille. Unde igitur hic tumultus? Violenta res est conscientia magis metuens DEUM offendere quam mortem oppetere. Forte fefellit eum persuasio. At demiror si vir ille levibus argumentis adductus est, ut sic obfirmaret animum. Maluit ipse perpeti quam in alios facere, quod necesse fuisset si in suscepto munere perseverasset. Quin et Regina veteris, singulari pietate famina multos miseret, non tantum ob id, quod dudum tanta dignitate florens nunc in eum statum redacta est ut ob divortium nec eo frui posset quicum tam diu vixit, nec alteri nubere ob *Clementis* sententiam: verumetiam quod videt non dubium quin cum summo animi dolore ipsius causa tales viros trucidari. Hujus porro Tragædiæ quis sit futurus exitus DEUS novit. Illud in confesso

† Bekett. est per necem beati Thomæ \* Acrensis plurimum et auctoritatis et opum accessisse statui Ecclesiastico apud Anglos. Qui res mortalium suo imperscrutabili consilio moderatur, pro sua bonitate dignabitur hæc omnia vertere in suam gloriam. Tantum e scheda, rumoribus et amicorum literis hactenus licuit cognoscere; si compertiora fuero nactus, tibi communicabo. Tu fac vicissim ut per te sciamus quid agat Rex Sion cum suis prophetis, populoque retincto, de quibus hic mira feruntur, an vera nescio. Apud Lutetiam Parisiorum X Cal. Augusti, Anno MDXXXV.

N.B. This Letter was printed first at Antwerp in 1536 with the following Title: *Expositio fidelis de Morte Thomæ Mori.* and is supposed by some to have been written by Erasmus.

## Nº XIV.

Mores  
English  
Works

Sir Thomas More beinge lorde Chancellour of Englande gave over that office, by his great † sute and labour, the 16 day of May A. D. 1532. and in the 24th yere of the reigne of K. Henry VIII. And after in that Somer he wrote an Epitaphy in latin and caused it to be written upon his tombe of Stone which himself, while he was Lord Chancellour, had caused to be made in his Parish Church of Chelsey, where he dwelled, three small miles from London. The copy of which Epitaphy here foloweth. Thomas

\* Natus est hic Thomas in Parochia Sti. Thomæ de Acon vel Acres: vel potius in domo stante in loco quo postea constructum est Hospitium dicatum Thomæ de Acon, nunc vocat. Mercers Chapel.

† Quam rem ad hunc usque diem a puero pene semper optavi, Desideri dulcissime, ut quod tibi perpetuo contigisse gauder, idem aliquando gauderem contigisse mihi, nempe ut, publicarum rerum negotijs liberatus aliquid olim temporis vivere DEO duntaxat ac mihi met ipsi possem: id nunc tandem, Erasme, DEI opt. max. benignitate ac Principis indulgentissimi beneficio consequutus sum. Mori epist. ad Erasmus.

*Thomas Morus* urbe *Londinensi*, familia non celebri sed honesta natus, in literis utcunque versatus quum et causas aliquot annos juvenis egisset in foro, et in urbe sua pro Shyrevo jus dixisset, ab invictissimo rege *Henrico octavo* (cui uni Regum omnium gloria prius inaudita contigit ut *Fidei defensor*, qualem et gladio se et calamo vere prestitit, merito vocaretur) adscitus in Aulam est, delectusque in consilium, et creatus eques proquæstor primum, post Cancellarius *Lancastriæ*, tandem *Angliæ* miro Principis favore factus est. Sed interim in publico Regni Senatu lectus est orator Populi; præterea legatus Regis nonnunquam fuit alias alibi: postremo vero *Cameraci* comes et collega junctus principi legationis *Cuthberto Tonstallo* tum *Londinensi* mox *Dunelmensi* Episcopo, quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius. Ibi inter summos orbis christiani monarchas rursus resecta fœdera redditamque mundo diu desideratam pacem, et lætissimus vidit, et legatus interfuit.

Quam superi pacem firment faxintque perennem. In hoc officiorum vel honorum cursu quum ita versaretur ut neque princeps optimus operam ejus improbaret, neque nobilibus esset invisus, nec injucundus populo, furibus autem, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus, pater ejus \* tandem *Joannes Morus* \* AD 1518 eques et in eum Judicium Ordinem a principe cooptatus qui † *regius confessus* vocatur, homo civilis, † *The Kings* suavis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus et integer, *B:uch.* annis quidem gravis, sed corpore plusquam pro ætate vivido, postquam eo productam sibi Vitam vidit ut filium videret *Angliæ* Cancellarium, satis in terra jam se moratum ratus, libens emigravit in Cœlum. At filius, defuncto patre, cui quamdiu supererat comparatus et juvenis vocari consueverat, et ipse quoque sibi videbatur, amissum jam patrem requirens, et æditos ex se liberos quatuor

ipsi  
editos



et nepotes undecim respiciens apud animum suum  
 cœpit persenescere. Auxit hunc affectum animi  
 subsequuta statim, velut adpetentis senij signum,  
 pectoris valetudo deterior. Itaque mortalium ha-  
 rum rerum satur, quam rem a puero pene semper  
 optaverat, ut ultimos aliquot vitæ suæ annos ob-  
 tineret liberos, quibus hujus vitæ negotijs paulatim  
 se subducens futuræ posset immortalitatem medi-  
 tari, eam rem tandem (si cæptis annuat DEUS)  
 indulgentissimi Principis incomparabili beneficio  
 resignatis honoribus impetravit: atque hoc sepul-  
 chrum sibi, quod mortis cum nunquam cessantis  
 abrepere quotidie commonefaceret, translatis huc  
 prioris uxoris ossibus, extruendum curavit. Quod  
 ne superstes frustra sibi fecerit, neve ingruentem  
 trepidus mortem horreat, sed desiderio Christi li-  
 bens oppetat, mortemque ut sibi non omnino mor-  
 tem sed januam Vitæ sælicioris inveniat precibus  
 \* eum \* cum piis, lector optime, spirantem precor de-  
 functumque prosequere.

*Under this Epitaphy in prose he caused to be  
 written on his tombe this latten Epitaphy in Versis  
 \* 1512. folowing, which himself had made \* 20 Years before.*

Chara Thomæ jacet hic Joanna uxorcula Mori,  
 Qui tumulum Alicia hunc destino, quique mihi.  
 Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis,  
 Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.  
 Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ est)  
 Tam pia quam gratis vix fuit ulla suis.  
 Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit,  
 Charior incertum est hæc si an hæc fuerit.  
 O simul O juncti poteramus vivere nos tres,  
 Quam bene si factum religioque finant.  
 At societ tumulus, societ nos obsecro cœlum,  
 Sic Mors, non potuit quod dare Vita, dabit.

But

But of this place of rest Sir *Thomas* had like to have been disappointed, by his falling under the King's displeasure and having an untimely death, had it not been for the Piety and Interest of his daughter Mrs. *Rooper*. For after his execution his headless body being buried by order in St. *Peters* Chapel within the Tower, Mrs. *Rooper* got leave, not long after to remove her fathers corps to *Chelsey* to be laid where he himself had designed it should rest.

Weever's  
Funeral  
Monu-  
ments,  
p. 505, 506

## N<sup>o</sup> XV.

*Erasmus has given us, in a Letter of his to his friend Ulric Hutten, a very fine and particular description of Sir Thomas's Person : which I will here transcribe.*

**U**T ab ea parte exordiar qua tibi *Morus* est ignotissimus, statura modoque corporis est intra proceritatem, supra tamen notabilem humilitatem. Verum omnium membrorum tanta est symmetria, ut nihil hic omnino desideres, cute corporis candida, facies magis ad candorem vergit quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abest, nisi quod tenuis admodum rubor ubique sublucet, capilli subnigro flavore, sive mavis sufflavo nigrore, barba rarior, oculi subcæsi maculis quibusdam interspersi, quæ species ingenium arguere solet felicissimum, apud *Britannos* etiam amabilis habetur, cum nostri nigrore magis capiantur. Negant ullum oculorum genus minus infestari vitijs. Vultus ingenio respondet, gratam et amicam festivitatem semper præ se ferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum compositus. Atque, ut ingenue dicam, appositior ad jucunditatem quam ad gravitatem aut dignitatem, etiamsi longissime abest ab ineptia scurrilitateque; Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo,

præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura sed assuetudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhærere. In reliquo corpore nihil est quod offendant, manus tantum subrusticæ sunt; ita duntaxat si ad reliquam corporis speciem conferatur.

School-  
master.  
p. 54. ed.  
1589. 4to

Of this gate of Sir *Thomas's*, as if one shoulder was higher than the other, *Roger Ascham* takes notice & seems to ascribe it to affectation; He tells us of one here in *England* who did follow or mimick Sir *Thomas* in wearing his gowne a wry upon the one shoulder as Sir *Thomas* was wont to do, in order to be counted like him, tho' he was most unlike him in wit and learning.

March,  
1710-7

His Hands, *Erasmus* observes were a little clumsy or rustic, in comparison with the rest of his body, which perhaps may be the reason why they are concealed by that great Artist *Hans Holben* in the several † Family pieces which he drew for Sir *Thomas*, wherein he is represented Sitting with his hands folded together & covered with the sleeves of his Gown. One of these fine pictures I saw at *Well-Hall*, an ancient Seat of the Family of the *Roopers* in the Parish of *Eltham* near *Black-beath* in *Kent*. The room which is here represented seem'd to me to be a large dining room. At the upper end of it stands a \* Chamber Organ on a Cupboard with a curtain drawn

† One of these Sir *Thomas* presented to his friend *Erasmus* who thus speaks of it in a Letter to Mrs. *Margaret Rooper*. Pictor *Olbeinus* totam familiam istam adeo feliciter expressam mihi representavit, ut si coram adfuissem non multo plus fuerim visurus. — Effigiem ornatissimæ matronæ *Aloysiæ* matris tuæ, quando coram non licuit, libenter sum exosculatus.

Epist. Lib. xxvi. ep. 50.

\* The Author of the description of this Picture in *Hearne's* Preface seems by the help of a strong imagination to have mistaken this for a *Tillow Bed* which he says, stands just by Sir *John Alore*, whose bed he supposes it to be and he represented sitting just by it.



drawn before it. On each end of the Cup-board, which is covered with a carpet of Tapistry, stands a flower pot of flowers, and on the Cup-board are laid a Lute, a Base Viol, a Pint Pot or Ewer covered in part with a cloth folded several times, and *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ* with two other books upon it. By this Cup-board stands a daughter of Sir Thomas More's putting on her right-hand glove, and having under her arm a book bound in red Turkey leather and gilt, with this inscription round the outside of the Cover *Epistolica Senecæ*. Over her head is written *Elizabetha Dancea Thomæ Mori filia anno 21*. Behind her stands a woman holding a book open with both her hands over whose head is written \* *Uxor Johannis Clements*. Next to Mrs. Dancy is Sir John More in his robes as one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and by him Sir Thomas in his Chancellor's robes and collar of SS. with a rose pendant before. They are both sitting on a sort of tressel or arm'd bench one of the arms & legs and one of the tassels of the Cushion appear on the left side of Sir Thomas. At the feet of Sir John lies a Cur-dog, and at Sir Thomas's a Bologna shock. Over Sir John's head is written *Johannes Morus pater anno 76*. Over Sir Thomas's *Thomas Morus anno 50*. Between them behinde stands the wife of John More, Sir Thomas's son, over whose head is written *Anna Crisacria Joannis Mori sponsa anno 15*. Behind Sir Thomas a little on his left hand stands his only son John More pictured with a very foolish aspect, and looking earnestly in a book which he holds open with both his hands. Over his head is written

\* In the sketch of another of these Family Pieces given us by the learned Dr. Knight this Lady is called *Margareta Gige* affinis an 22 which seems to intimate that this Picture was drawn before that at *Well-Hall* tho' they were both done in the same year.

written *Joannes Morus Thomæ filius anno 19*. A little to the left of Sir Thomas are sitting on low stools his two other daughters *Cæcilia* and *Margaret*. Next him is *Cæcilia* who has a book in her lap clasp'd. By her sits her sister *Margaret* who has likewise a book in her lap but wide open, in which is written, *L. An. Senecæ — Oedipus — Fata si liceat mihi fingere arbitrio meo, temperem zephyro levis.* — On *Cæcilia's* petticoat is written *Cæcilia Herond Thomæ Mori filia anno 20* and on *Margaret's*, *Margareta Ropera Thomæ Mori filia anno 22*. Just by Mrs. Roper sits Sir Thomas's Lady in an elbow chair holding a book open in her hands. About her neck she has a gold chain with a cross hanging to it before. On her left hand is a Monkey chain-ed and holding part of it with one paw and part of it with the other. Over her head is written, *Uxor Thomæ Mori anno 57*. Behind her is a large arched window in which is placed a flower pot of flowers and a couple of Oranges. Behind the two ladies stands Sir Thomas's Fool, who, it seems, was bereft of his judgment by distraction. He has his cap on, and in it are stuck a red and white rose and on the brim of it is a shield with a red cross in it, and a sort of Seal pendant. About his neck he wears a black string with a Cross hanging before him, and his \* left thumb is stuck in a broad leathern girdle clasp'd about him. Over his head is written † *Henricus Pattison Thomæ servus*. At the

Henry  
Patenfon

\* This is represented in the Preface to *Hearne's* edition of this *Life of Sir Thomas* thus: *manu fixa ad capulum ensis, ut mihi videtur, maximi moduli* But fools don't use to be trusted with such weapons as two handed swords.

† I had sometime one with me called *Cliffe*, a man as well known as maister *Henry Patenson*.

*Sir Tho: Moors English Works, p. 935.*

the entrance of the room, where Sir *Thomas* and his family are, stands a man in the Portal who has in his left hand a roll of papers or parchments with two seals appendant, as if he was some-way belonging to Sir *Thomas* as Lord Chancellor: Over his head is written *Joannes Herefius Thomæ Mori famulus*. In another room, at some distance is seen thro' the door-case a † man standing at a large bow window, with short black hair in an open sleev'd gown of a sea green colour, and under it a garment of a blossom colour, holding a book open in his hands written or printed in the black letter, and reading very earnestly in it. About the middle of the Room over against Sir *Thomas* hangs a Clock with strings & leaden weights without any case.

## Nº XVI

*On a Mural Monument against the West Wall of the Roopers Chancel on the south-side of the High Chancel of the Church of St. Dunstons in the Suburbs of the City of Canterbury.*

**S**iste Gradum Qui pergis, et hac (ut vivere possis, Utque Mori melius discere) pauca Legas, Negligis Ecce brevi, forsan dum negligis et Tu Humanæ Specimen Conditionis Eris.

Sacrum Pietati et Parentibus,

*Thomas Rooper Armiger Thomæ Mori*  
(Quod nec modico huic Familiæ Honori

Fuit

† In the aforesaid Preface he is said to be a Priest, but he who so stiles him owns he never before saw a Priest in a green habit, and my eyes were not good enough to see any shaven crown.



\* Wood &  
Herne five

Fuit) ex Filia *Margareta* Nepos, Hæres  
Moribus, post patrem *Gulielmum* (cujus  
In eo munere Consors videri prius quam  
Successor poterat) in Foro \* ceu Banco  
Regio suprema totius Regni Curia Pro-  
tonotarius Viginti quatuor aut eo am-  
plius annorum Spatio (Tam suo magno meri-  
to Quam Summo omnium studio) Fide bona  
et publica egit, non Actoribus non Reis  
aut dare unquam verba solitus, aut ni-  
mio vendere. Uxorem habuit eamq; uni-  
cam *Luciam* Filiam *Anthoni* *Browne* ex  
Illustri *Montacutensi* Familia oriundam  
Equitis, Equorumq; Regi *Henrico* octavo  
Præfecti, Cui etiam a Consilijs fuit. Ex  
Illa bis senos pari sexus discrimine libe-  
ros suscepit. Mirus utrisq; et merus  
Amor, magna concordia et mutua vene-  
ratio, ita publicus in Foro, Domi pri-  
vatus, sancte ubiq; agens et modeste,  
Ubi tranquilliter fenuisset dormienti  
Similis anno ætatis suæ sexagesimo  
Quinto requievit in Christo, vicesimo  
Primo *Januarij* Anno 1597.

\* W. & H.  
mer.

Indulgentissimo Parenti piissimus Filius  
*Gulielmus Roperus* Li. \* Me. po.

Respice quid prodest præsentis temporis ævum  
Omne quod est nihil est, præter amare Deum.  
Quid Caro, Quid Sanguis, Quid Pulvis & Umbra Su-  
Quid Lætare miser vermibus Esca satus? (perbis?  
Qui Mundum immundum captas, captaberis ipse,  
Et qui cuncta cupis \* Te brevis Urna capit.

\* deest W  
& H.

† fugias W  
& H.

\* deest W.  
& H.

†† desunt  
W. & H.

\* mortis  
W. & H.

Pauca potest vivo Mundus solatia ferre,  
Nullaq; post Mortem commoda damna potest.  
Quæ damnant † fugiens animam sic \* instrue vivens,  
Vivat ——— in ——— beata Deo.  
Mortuus hæc moneo moriturum, † perge, † memorq;  
Esto meæ \* fortis, sed magis ipse tuæ.

N<sup>o</sup> XVII.

An Order of the House of Lords, 1641:  
concerning Books.

Wednesday, Dec. 1. 1641.

\* Nalson's  
Collect.  
Vol. II. p.  
690.  
\* Jof Hall.

**T**His day the Bp. of \* Exon reported to the Lords House, That the Committee formerly appointed by their House have perused those Books which were siezed on coming from beyond the Seas, and others printed in *England* and put into the hands of the Register of the High Commission Court, and the Committee finds them to be of three several sorts.

I. Such as are fit to be delivered to the owners, and to be sold by the Stationers as good and vendible books, viz.

*The holy Table, Name and Thing.*

*Mr. Walker's \* treaty of the Sabbath.*

\* treatise.

*A French Commentary on the Revelations.*

*Dr. Burges's his rejoinder for ceremonies.*

*Some old books of Controversies.*

II. A second sort of books which the Committee thinks fit to be sold to choice Persons, as

*Causin's 4th tome of Holy Court in folio of which there are 370.*

*Thomas de Kempis of the following of Christ of which there are 100 in decimo sexto.*

*The Life of Sir Thomas Moore.*

III. A third sort of superstitious Tablets and Books which are fit to be burnt, as

*Missals, Primers, & Offices of our Lady, &c.*

Hereupon it was ordered by this House, That the first sort of books are approved of by this House, and are to be delivered to the Owners, and to be sold by the Stationers: and That the  
second

*second* sort be delivered over to safe hands, to be sold to Noblemen, Gentlemen and Scholars, but not to Women: And *lastly*, That the *third* sort be burned by the Sherifs of LONDON in *Smythsfeld* forthwith.

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## N<sup>o</sup> XVIII.

*An Account of Sir Tho: More's writings in Latin and English, with some Memoirs of his Family.*

SIR Thomas, notwithstanding his great business, and being so much employed not only as a Counsellor at Law, but as a Minister of State, wrote a great deal for the Publick, to his intentness on which he imputed that Pain in his breast of which he afterwards complained. His *Latin* works were collected together and printed at *Lovain*, by Peter Zangrius Tiletanus Anno. 1566 and are as follows.

I. *Utopiæ libri duo*. Of this book were several editions with the following Title, *Illustris viri Thomæ Mori Regni Britanniarum Cancellarij de optimo Reipublicæ Statu, de nova Insula Utopiæ Libri Duo*. These are somewhat different from



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2. *Progymnasmata Thomæ Mori et Gulielmi Liliij sodalium: seu Epigrammata Thomæ Mori pleraque e Grecis versa.*

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*Epitaphi.  
Abyngdo-  
nij canto-  
ris*

4. *Ex LUCIANO conversa quedam.*

5. *Declamatio Lucianicæ pro Tyrannicida respondens.*

6. *Historia Richardi Regis Angliæ ejus nominis Tertij. conscrip. cir. 1513.*

7. *Responsio ad convitia Martini Lutheri congesta in Henricum Regem Angliæ ejus nominis octavum, conscripta Anno Dom. 1523.* This, I suppose, is the

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the same with *Vindictio Henrici VIII. Regis Angliæ et Galliæ a Calumniis Lutheri a Gulielmo Rosseo Lond. 1523.*

8. *Expositio Passionis Domini ex contextu IV Evangelistarum usque ad comprehensum Christum conscripta dum in arce Londinensi in carcere agebat.* A part of this was translated into *English* by his daughter *Mary* the wife of Mr. *James Bassett*, and one of the gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber to Q. *Mary*.

9. *Quod pro Fide Mors fugienda non est, dum in arce Londinensi detineretur A.D. 1534.*

10. *Precatio ex Psalmis collecta per Thomam Morum in Arce Londinensi agentem A. D. 1534. Cui ipse hunc titulum posuit: Imploratio divini auxilij contra tentationem cum insultatione contra Dæmones ex spe et fiducia in DEUM.*

11. Epitaphium.

12. A Collection of his Latin Letters printed at LONDON. 1642.

13. Besides these, Sir *Thomas* wrote and published a little book entituled, *Refutatio Brixij libelli quem † Antimorum appellat.* On *Brixius's* publishing this book, which \* *Erasmus* would fain have had him not have done, *Erasmus* wrote to Sir *Thomas* to take no notice of it. But before he received his Letter, the book was printed off and some of the Copies dispersed. But no sooner had Sir *Thomas* read his friend's Letter, than he resolved to do all he could to \* suppress it. Which he

Germanus  
Brixius a  
secretis  
Reginæ  
Franciæ  
April 6.  
1520.

† *Brixius* ANTIMORON contra hunc virum edidit in quo eum tanquam indoctum et profodjæ etiam ignarum traducit.

*Gesner*, Bibliothec. fol. 68. ed 1545.

\* id nequaquam facies. si quid omnino audies *Erasmum*,

\* quum primum prostant et cæpissent avide flagitari, tua commodum intervenit epistola.

he did so effectually, that, as he wrote to *Erasmus*, except two copies presented to himself and *Peter Giles*, and five more which the Printer had sold, he had got them all into his own possession.

Sir Thomas's Englyshe works were collected and published in one Volume by his Sister's Son \* *William Rastell* sergeant at Law with the following Title: *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knight sometyme Lord Chauncellor of England wrytten by him in the English Tongue. Printed at London at the costs and charges of John Cawood, John Waley and Richard Tottell. Anno 1557.*

In this Volume are contained what I may call,

1. His *Juvenilia*, or Verses &c. that he wrote in his Youth for his Pastime & Diversion.

2. *The Life of John Picus Earl of Mirandula &c. translated out of Latin into English.*

3. *The History of K. Richard the thirde (unfinished) written by Mayster Thomas More than one of the under sheriffis of London about the Year of our Lord 1513.*

4. *A dialoge of Syr Thomas More knyght: one of the counsayll of oure Soverayne lorde the Kyng and chauncellour of hys ducky of Lancafter: wherin be treatyd dyvers matters, as of the veneration and worsbyp of ymagys and relyques, prayng to sayntys & goyng on Pylgrymage wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the Pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone \* bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Meremayd at Powlys gate next to chepe lyde in the moneth of June the yere of our lord 1529.*

Cum privilegio Regali.

M

5. The

\* *Williel. Rastall, Serv. ad Legem constitutus Justic. ad placita coram Rege April: 23. 4 & 5 Phil. et Maria.*

5. The supplicacion of Soules made Anno 1529. agaynst the supplicacion of beggars.

6. *The Consutation of Tyndale's Answer to his Dialogue made 1532. in IX books.*

7. *A Letter impugning the erronious writing of John Frith against the blessed Sacrament of the aulter.*

8. *The Apology of Sir Thomas More Knt. made by him Anno 1533. after that he had given over thoffice of lord chauncellor of Englande in 50 chapters.*

9. *The Debellacyon of Salem and Byzance A.D. 1533.*

10. *An Answer to the first part of the poysoned booke whych a nameles heretike hath named, The Supper of the LORD. A.D. 1533.*

11. *A dyalogue of comfort against tribulacion made by an Hungarien in Latin, and translated out of Latin into Frenche and oute of Frenche into Englishe by Sir Thomas More Knt. 1534 while he was prisoner in the Tower of London in 3 books.*

12. *To receave the blessed body of our Lorde sacramentally and virtuallie both: written 1534.*

13. *A treatyce historicall conteyning the bitter passion of our Saviour Christe, after the course and order of the IV Evangelistes with an exposicion upon their wordes, taken, for the more part out of the sayings of sundry good olde holy Doctours, and begynning at the first assemblye of the byshoppe, the Priestes, and the seniours of the people about the contriving of Christes death written the 26 Chapter of Saynt Mathewe, the 14 of Saynt Marke, and in the 22 of Saynt Luke; And it endeth in the committying of hys blessed body into his sepulchre. with the frustrate Provision of the Jewes about the keeping therof with souldiers appointed therto written Mat. 27. Marke 15. Luke 23. and John 19.*

14. *An introduction to the storie left imperfect.*



Sir Thomas wrote no more in *Englishe* of thys treatyse of the Passion of *Christe*, but wrote more therof in *Latin*.

15. *A godly instruccion* written 1534.
16. *A godly instrucion* in *Latin*.
17. The same in *English*
18. *A Devout Prayer collected out of the Psalms* of David wherunto he made *this Title* following, Imploratio divini auxilij contra tentationem cum insultatione contra dæmones ex spe et fiducia in Deum.
19. *A godly meditacion*, written in the Tower 1534.
20. *A devoute praier made by Sir Thomas* after he was condemned to die thursday the first daye of July, 1535.
21. *Letters to Mrs. Rooper &c.* in *English* and *Latin*.

### Of Sir Thomas More's Family.

SIR Thomas had issue by his first wife *Jane* the daughter of *John Colt* of *Colts Hall* in *Essex* one son named after his Grandfather *John* and three daughters, *Margaret*, *Elisabeth* and *Cecilia*. Sir Thomas had the three daughters first, <sup>Apothegms at the end of Mr. Herbert's Remains p. 185</sup> and his wife very much desired a boy. At last he had this son who proved little better than an Ideot, as is shewn in the countenance of his Picture at *Well-hall*. Upon which Sir Thomas, its said, told his Lady, *She had prayed so long for a boy, that she had now one who would be a boy as long as he lived*. However he had all the advantages that a good & ingenuous education <sup>Epist Lib. XXIX N<sup>o</sup></sup> could give him, by which his natural parts seem to have been improv'd. Among *Erasmus's* Letters we have one written to him by that great

man, in which he stiles him a † youth of great hopes, & tells him, that he might not seem to make him no returns for his little presents, and so many of his friendly Letters, he now sent him a *Nut*, which he would not have him despise as a trifle, since it was a very elegant one, to wit an *Ovidian Nut*. Altho' were it otherwise *he* could not be thought to make a very small present who sent the whole tree, nor a cheap one who presented a tree so eloquent. He was not, he said, used to kill many birds with one stone, but yet it would look candid in him, and he himself should appear less ungrateful, if this *Nut*, whose fruit nature had made divisible into four parts, he would please to let be in common among his most agreeable Sisters *Margaret, Elizabeth & Cecilia*, and their happy companion *Gige* who so often teased him with their Letters which he was persuaded were their own by their good sense and chaste Latin. He added, that it was to no purpose to exhort him either to the study of Letters or the practice of Vertue, since he was himself so well disposed & had at home such a father. *Erasmus* likewise inscribed to him his account of *Aristotles* works, by which it should seem as if he understood *Greek* as well as *Latin*. This he concluded with putting the young man in mind of his Parentage, and exhorting him to continue his endeavours to appear worthy of such a Father.

He was married sometime before he was 19 years old to *Anne Crisacre* daughter and sole Heir of *Edward Crisacre* of *Baronburgh* in *Yorkshire*, who was not 15 years old. Mr. Rooper tells us, She was an Heire in possession of more than an hundred pounds land by the Yeere. By her Mr. More, its said, had issue five sons. The eldest of these was named *Thomas* and had 13 children, the

Life of Sir  
Tho More  
p. 50.

† Optimæ spei adolescenti,

the first of which was named *Thomas*; who being a most zealous Roman Catholic gave the Family Estate to his younger brother and took Orders at *Rome* whence by the Popes command he came a Missionary into *England*. He afterwards lived at *Rome*, where & in *Spain* he negotiated the Affairs of the *English* Clergy at his own expence, and wrote the Life of his great grandfather Sir *Thomas*, which after his death was printed with the following Title.

D. O. M. S.

The Life and Death of Sir *Thomas More* Knt.<sup>4<sup>o</sup></sup> 1627.  
Lord High Chancellour of *England* under K.  
*Henry* the Eighth and His Majestie's Embassadour to the Courts of *France* and *Germany*.

It was dedicated to *The High and Mightie Princessse* our most gracious *Queene and Sovereigne Marie Henriette* *Queene of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Ladie of the Isles of the British Ocean*.

Which † match, the author of the Dedication tells us, *Thomas More* was very instrumental in making. He died *April xi* A.D. 1625 aged 59. *Wood & Hearne*  
Over his grave, it's said, was soon after laid a monumental

† The Papists of those times had their expectations very much raised by this match of having their Superstition again established here in *England*. Accordingly we find books written by them about this time frequent'y dedicated to the King and Queen. And in 1622, was printed without the Name of any place, a Book with this Title.

Missale parvum pro sacerdotibus  
in Anglia itinerantibus,  
Ordo etiam Baptizandi, aliaque  
sacramenta ministrandi, &  
Officia quædam Ecclesiastica rite  
peragendi.

Ex pontificali, et Rituali Romano, jussu  
Pauli P. P. Quinti editis extractus.

But in an edition of this *Ordo* &c *Duaci* 1604. it's more truly said to be *juxta usum insignis Ecclesiæ SARISBURIENSIS*.



numental Stone of white marble at the charge of the *English* Clergy at *Rome*, on which is the following Inscription in capital Letters.

D. O. M. S.

*Thomæ Moro* Dioc. † *Ebor. Anglo*  
*Magni illius Thomæ Mori Angliæ*  
*Cancellarij et Martyris Pronepoti*  
*Atque Hæredi: Viro probitate*  
*et pietate insigni:*  
*Qui, raro admodum apud Britannos*  
*exemplo, in Fratrem natu*  
*minorem, \* amplum transcripsit*  
*Patrimonium, et Presbyter Romæ*  
*Factus, inde, <sup>1</sup> jussu Sedis Apostolicæ*  
*in patriam <sup>2</sup> projectus, plusculos*  
*annos strenuam Fidei*  
*propagandæ navavit operam:*  
*Postea Cleri Anglicani negotia*  
*vii annos Romæ et <sup>3</sup> in Hispania*  
*P. P. Paulo V et Gregorio XV. summa*  
*<sup>4</sup> integritate et industria, suisque*  
*Sumptibus procuravit.*  
*Tandem de subrogando Anglis*  
*Episcopo ad Urban. VIII. missus*  
*Negotio eo feliciter confecto*  
*Laborum mercedem recepturus*  
*ex hac Vita migravit xi. Ap.*  
*A. MDCXXV ætatis suæ 59.*

Clerus Anglicanus mæstus P.

I'll

† The Estate which he inherited of the *Crisacres* was in *Yorkshire*.

\* Somewhat more than 100 per ann.

I'll only add, that this Mr. More in relating Mrs. Rooper's coming to her Father when he was brought back to the Tower after his condemnation, tells us, that she was *not able to say any* chap. xi. *word, but, Oh my Father, oh my Father!* But Mr. Rooper, from whom he took his account, says not that she spake a word to him: and the Latin Letter concerning Sir Thomas's death, expressly says, she could not speak a word to him. For which he gives the Tragic poet's reason, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

As for Sir Thomas's daughters, the eldest of them and his great favourite was married to \* William Rooper Esq; of Well-Hall in the Parish of Eltham in Kent the author of this Life of Sir Thomas. By him she had issue Thomas Rooper who married Lucy the daughter of Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Horse and Privy-Councillour to K. Henry VIII. Anthony Rooper a second son: and three daughters viz Elizabeth who married ———— Stevenson, and was a second time married to Sir Edward Bray Knt. Margaret married to William Dawtrey: & Mary first married to Stephen Clarke and a second time to James Bassett.

Sir Thomas's second daughter Elisabeth was married to ———— Dancy & his third daughter Cecilia to ———— Herond and that is all I know of them. These all lived together with Sir Thomas at Chelsea. Erasmus, who had been there and knew their way of living, calls the Family a little house of the Muses, and another academy of Plato: Only, he says, he does it wrong by the comparison. Since in Plato's academy they disputed about numbers and geometrical figures, and but sometimes of moral Virtues, Whereas this House was more properly a School and Exercise of the

M 4

Christian

\* Erasmus styles him *ornatissimum Roperum.*

Christian Religion. There was neither man nor woman who was not employed in liberal disciplines, and fruitful reading, altho' the principal study was Religion. There was no quarelling not so much as a peevish word was to be heard, nor was any one seen idle. All were in their several employs, they all appeared chearful, nor was there wanting sober Mirth. And so well managed a government Sir *Thomas* did not maintain by severity and chiding, but by † gentleness and kindness.

† Pudore et liberalitate liberos

Retinere satius esse credo, quam metu.

—— Errat longe, mea quidem sententia,

Qui imperium credat gravius esse, aut stabilius,

Ut quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adjungitur.

Mea est sic ratio & sic animum induco meum:

Mal'o coactus qui suum officium facit,

Dum id rescitum iri credit, tantisper cavet

Si sperat fore clam, rursus ad ingenium redit.

Ille quem beneficio adjungas, ex animo facit,

Studet par referre; præsens absensque idem erit.

*Tereut: Adelpho: Act. I. Scena I.*





# AN EXPLANATION

*Of the obsolete WORDS, &c. in the Life of Sir  
THO. MORE.*

**A**

**A** Bjected. p. 131. *cast away.*  
 Affectis. 13. *Affections.*  
 \*Algorisme } *An arithmetical*  
 stone. 146 } *stone.*

**B**

Bedesman. 107. *Petitioner.*  
 Botickis. 12. *Buttocks.*

**C**

Cailiffe. 87. *Captive, Slave,*  
*Wretch.*

Common } *House of*  
 house. } 36 *Commons.*

**E**

Egall. 10. *equal.*  
 Estones. 106. *presently, imme-*  
*diately.*

**G**

Geate. 61. *Affair, Business.*  
 Gre. 116. *pleasure, satisfaction :*  
*take in gre, take kindly.*  
 Guise, 44. *manner.*

**H**

Hit, 35. *it.*  
 Honestie, 102. *credit, reputation,*  
*desency.*  
 Houfelled, 81. *communicated, re-*  
*ceived the Sacrament.*  
 Howld, 42. *bold.*

**I**

Improved, 114. *disproved.*  
 Jubarding, 121. *jeoparding, hazard-*  
*ing, or bringing into danger.*

**L**

Lefe, 111. *lose.*  
 Let, 23. *binder.*  
 Lewdelie, 43. *ignorantlie, foolishlie*

**M**

Mastrie, 45. *victorie.*

**O**

Overlie, 93. *besides.*

**P**

Palles, 131. *palace.*  
 Parel, 124. *peril, danger.*  
 Prise, 139. *praise.*

**R**

Rownded, 81. *whispered.*  
 Refined, 131. *resigned.*

**S**

Sewe, 114. *sue, prosecute, follow.*  
 Shrewde, 127. *notable, sharp.*  
 Simple, 9. *plain, downright-honest*  
 Soth, 8. *truth, true.*  
 Souked, 12. *sucked.*  
 Soyleth, 125. *solvetb, answereth.*  
 Stwarde, 12. *steward.*

**T**

Tayed, 12. *tied.*  
 Tone } *the one.*  
 Tother } 14 *the other.*  
 Travailed, 31. *laboured.*  
 Traverse, 33. *closet.*  
 Trothe, 52. *truth.*

**U**

Utas, 100. *Octaves, the eightb day.*

**W**

Wene, 9. *think, imagine.*  
 Went, 11. *thought, &c.*  
 Wilili, 11. *craftily, cunningly.*  
 Wise, 35. *see guise, custom, usage.*  
 Wist, 16. *knew.*  
 Wittie, 36. *sensible, ingenious.*

**Y**

Ynouth, 135. *enough.*

\* Ab Arabibus nomen *Algorismi* accepimus pro praxi Arithmeti-  
 ca per figuras numerales. *Wallis.*

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